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EXTRACTS FROM
REPORT ON ENGLISH AND
VERNACULAR NEWS PAPERS
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Report on English & Vernacular Newspapers for the year 1912

20th July to 21st Dec 1912

(From Pages 226 to 487)

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 20th JULY 1912.

No. 30 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration.

(b) Courts.

The Kurnool assault case.

2. Referring to this case in which Mr. Barlow-Poole, District Forest officer, Kurnool, was fined Rs.20 for assaulting a ryot, the People's Weekly, for the week ending 13th July, says:--"We think that the punishment is utterly disproportionate to the gravity of the offence and that the Magistrate has utterly failed to appreciate the importance of the issues involved. Though law is no respecter of persons, yet ethical requirements, require it to view differently, an offence committed by an ignorant boor and that committed by an educated and enlightened man. The latter is expected to know more of the civic responsibilities he owes his brethern in society than the former, and if he infringes any of the laws of the realm he does so with the full knowledge of its consequences. Mr. Poole, both as an educated man and as one belonging to the public service, should have shown greater self-restraint than he seems to have done in this case. He should further have understood than attacking a poor helpless unarmed ryot is not a whit less cowardly than attacking a woman or a child. Possibly if the ryot had known that an assault of this kind was worth only Rs.20 he would have retaliated and taken the consequences. But the general impression in the minds of most Indians is that the severity of law would be stretched to its utmost limits when an Indian commits an assault on a European; and this

wholesome impression accounts for the paucity of such assaults. Should not a like wholesome feeling be created in the minds of certain classes of Europeans, who seem to think that God has given them physical strength to try it on their neighbours? If such assailants had been adequately punished, would there be such a plentiful crop of cases of assault committed on defenceless Indians by certain types of Europeans, who are a disgrace and blot on Western civilization wherein chivalry holds a high place. On principle we do not like pleading for the infliction of severe punishments; but when leniency is apt to be--and as a matter of fact has been--interpreted as weakness, we would crave our judicial tribunals not to offer however indirectly, a premium to crime".

The United India and Native States, for the week ending 13th July, remarks:--"It seems to us that Mr. Lloyd has not taken a serious view of Mr. Barlow-Poole's reprehensive conduct. A fine of Rs.20 for a cowardly assault by one of the higher district officers on a humble ryot because of some slight damage to a bicycle, the result of wrong-driving on the part of another man, is utterly inadequate to meet the ends of justice and we hope that the High Court will call for the records of the case and enhance the punishment in the exercies of its revisional powers. It remains also to be seen how the Government propose to deal with this irate officer who so far forgot his responsibilities as a member of the ruling race and as one of the chief officers in the district as to indulge in an undignified ebullition of bad temper in a public road against an innocent ryot".

(k) General.

12. The Madras Standard, of the 15th July, remarks:--

The Nicholson Commission.

"The Pall Mall Gazette is never tired of running down Lord Nicholson's Committee. With occasional articles on the

subject, it is keeping alive the alarm......We, however, agree with our contemporary in demanding that the report should not remain a secret and that it should be available to the public. The Military charges are an incubus on the Indian finance and anything that helps to relieve the pressure should be welcomed. But experts, especially military experts, are to be guarded against and the deliberations of so important a committee ought not to be made inaccessible to the public, before final orders are passed by the Secretary of State".

Indians in South Africa.

15. The Hindu, of the 18th July, writes;- "By his noble efforts in the cause of British Indians in South Africa and by his persistent attempt to get justice done to them, Lord Ampthill has unconsciously been the means of making India lie under a debt of obligation to His Lordship which she could scarcely discharge in any adequate manner. The question of the amelioration of the condition of Indians, has, as our readers know, been hung up by the South African Union Parliament, and a situation has arisen there which may tax the energy of our people in a greater degree than heretofore by reason of their attenuated condition and the dwindled resources at their command. Lord Ampthill raised the point again yesterday in the House of Lords, and a summary of his speech as well as the reply made on behalf of Government has been wired to us by Reuter........... The reply made by Lord Emmot, as can be seen from our telegraphic columns, was not only greatly disappointing and very unsatisfactory, but it showed an impatience of criticism and a petulent spirit which are deplorable---- Lord Emmot stated with regard to the postponement of the Bill that His Majesty's Government 'had positive proofs of the South African Ministers' anxiety to pass it.

The Ministers had expressed regret to Lord Gladstone and promised to introduce it at the earliest moment next session'. It is really surprising that the British Government should have allowed themselves to be so completely hoodwinked by the Ministers in South Africa..........When the South African Union Bill was under discussion in the Imperial Parliament, it was urged that the rights of the native races and of British Indians should be safeguarded in the measure, as the past history of South Africa had clearly established that the whites in South Africa could not be expected to deal with them in a just and proper fashion. But the Liberal Government in the plenitude of their wisdom and in the complete confidence they had in the good sense of the self-governing colonies--recent events have shown how far this confidence was justified--turned a deaf ear to this proposal and refused to risk a possible failure of their scheme which might result from heeding to 'sentimental' grievances of Indians. Nobody is interested in cavilling British Liberals when they wish to swear by the principle of self-government. But when, in the act of accomplishing this most desirable end, they conveniently forget that other races have to be protected and that their rights have to be safeguarded, their attitude lays absolutely no claim to statesmanship, much less to justice or impartiality. And the refusal--such it is--to bring pressure to bear on a self-governing colony which, out of its intense selfishness, throws to the winds all considerations of equity, principle and 'common citizenship of the British Empire', -- it is idle to pretent that such a policy has anything to commend it. On the contrary, it shows extreme supineness and nervousness. Where Lord Emmot intended to ridicule Unionists by saying that they had to wait for the latter to come to power, in order to make representations to a self-governing colony in regard to such matters, he was unconsciously paying a compliment to the party now in oppo-

sition. For, we believe firmly that they recognised the responsibilities of the British Government in regard to this question more than Liberals have now been shown to do. They would not have allowed such a situation to arise; much less would they have exhibited such timidity and helplessness in facing the problem when it had arisen".

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 19th July, says:--"Lord Ampthill has fought for Indians in South Africa with commendable zeal and persistence; but his success has not been equal to his efforts. The fault, however, lies with the Government of the day whose achievements have fallen short of their professions; and from the reply that Lord Emmott gave to Lord Ampthill in the House of Lords day before yesterday we have to understand that even their professions are waning in stability and earnestness. Never before was such a reply given on behalf of the Government as was given by Lord Emmott. It practically implies a surrender to the colonies in the matter of the treatment of Indians. It means that the Indian question is a colonial rather than an imperial question, that it is one within the discretion of the Colonial rather than of the Imperial Government. The tendency of the time is increasingly to acquiesce in colonial absolutism--we use 'absolutism' because it is a more appropriate word than 'independence'--as regards Indians. In all other matters there is a principle. As regards Indians there is no principle, no discrimination between right and wrong. The immutable principles of morality do not apply to Indians. They are of a different colour, and that is enough justification for the Colonial Government to trample upon their rights and to exclude them from the enjoyment of what they long regarded as theirs by birth right........Lord Emmott, instead of promising representation as regards this general tendency, makes

a surrender of imperial responsibility by saying that no useful purpose would be served by representation, and that the Imperial Government could not interfere with the colonies. Such an open repudiation was never made by any Minister on behalf of the Government; and we have to regret that gradually the whole ground of the right of interference is being given away. That is surely the effect of Lord Emmott's reply, and he aggravated it by adding that, in order to make representations such as Lord Ampthill suggested, the latter must wait till Unionists were in power..........Lord Emmott threw a challenge at the Unionist party. If the fate of South African Indians is dealt with in such a spirit and such a manner, there can hardly be any hope of the combined force of British public opinion and Parliament moving the Colonial Government towards a change of its attitude and policy. If there is any one subject in respect of which both parties can be expected to have the same views and pursue the same end, it is the question of the status and rights of British subjects within the Empire itself. In Britain they have no race or colour prejudice, they are far above it. It must, therefore, be the endeavour of Ministers to take advantage of this healthy British feeling and bring pressure on the colonies to treat British subjects as Britain herself would treat them. The colonies may not fulfil the ideal conception of Britain, but the ideal conception must be ever pressed on them."

VI--Miscellaneous

20. The West Coast Reformer, of the 18th July observes:-

The Indian National Congress Presidentship.

"Congressmen all over India are now engaged in the consideration of selecting a suitable President for the ensuing session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Bankipur, the capital of the young province of Behar and Orissa. There are signs of youthful but thoughtful political activity in the new province, and we are almost certain that this year's Congress will be notable for

liveliness.......The Beharees want a President of the ability and attractiveness of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, whose selection for the chair will, they think, make up for the deficiency of the town. Some would have an Englishman, but it proves impossible; others would have a Congressman whose claims to the highest honour at the hands of the non-official public have to be acknowledged..........There is a good deal of force in the argument raised in some quarters that it is long since Madras was honoured in this matter and hence a Madrasee ought to be selected this time to fill the Congress chair. Our own view must be naturally coloured with a shade of excusable selfishness, and we would rather press the claims of Madras than of any individual Madrasee..........Among the few Congressmen in Madras who are still spared to us is the Hon'ble Mr. Govindaraghava Aiyar, whose selection for the Presidentship will be hailed by Madrasees. We may also point out that an immediate effect of chosing the President from the Madras Camp will be an awakening of the spirit of the Congress in this Presidency. The Congress should indeed be a failure if it fails to draw the sympathies of any one presidency to the national institution that it is, and of which a chief aim is the creation and maintenance of unity of interests among the serveral provinces".

(k) General.

India Office balance.

29. Referring to the India Office balance which occurs every year, the Ravi, of the 11th July, says that it ought to be published in London for the same reasons for which the Government of India balance is published. As the Indians also have a right to express their views on the accounts of Government, the members of the Supreme Ligislative Council will do well, says the paper, to move resolutions on the advisability of publishing the reasons for the balance in the office of the Secretary of State. The people in India,

says the paper, want more money to be spent on education. The loss that the Indian revenue has sustained on account of the abolition of the opium traffic has to be made up in some other way. The India Office balance appears in the accounts as balance in England. Although all this is the property of Government, yet it was all collected from the people of India. So the said balance, says the paper, ought to be shown in the accounts of India where it ought to be used for the benefit of the people. The said balance, says the paper, would gradually be reduced in amount, if the people in England were to spend it for necessary purposes in India, such as the spread of education and the opening up of new railways.

Self-government in India.

33. Writing on this subect, the Sadhvi, of the 16th July, says:--"The third paragraph of the despatch of 25th August, which deals with Lord Crewe's declaration about the impossibility of developing local self-government in India, contains the statement that until India would consist of a number of administrations, ~~the statement that until India would consist of a number of administrations,~~ autonomous in all Provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in case of misgovernment but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern, nothing could be done in the matter. The despatch says that in course of time the just demands of the Indians for a larger share in the Government of the country will have to be satisfied without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council and the only solution of this problem is the scheme of Provincial autonomy, an autonomy of such a character that it admits of no possibility of misgovernment. This is doubtless the view of Lord Crewe and there may be many in the present Liberal Government who hold this view. It is a matter of history that the most retrograde views make room for the most progressive ones when

when time and circumstances change, and who knows that such a change will not come over the present Liberal Government of the British Empire and make Lord Crewe himself the mouth-piece of liberal concessions to the people of India? The noble people are nobody governed and the ignoble ignobly. If the Indians fight for their rights in the justest, the most loyal and the most constitutional manner persistently, and in season and out of season, the development of local self-government will become an accomplished fact, sooner or later, and much sooner than later, if the Indians create in themselves a loyal and yet an obstinate and unyielding asprit de corps among themselves. England is noted for her autonomous instincts in all matters of administrative concern. The majority of the British people are liberal and are animated by an uncommon sense of justice and fairplay. They do not grant any privileges unless we show that we want them badly and that we will not take rest from our legitimate fight until our prayers are granted. What we should do is, we should keep up just and loyal agitation at its highest level till we obtain the blessings of self-government to the same extent to which it obtains in all the dominions of the British Empire".

III. Legislation.

34, The Bharatamata, of the 10th July, reproduces an article from the Andhrapatrika of Bombay

The Press Act.

in which the latter paper says that although it may be argued that security under the Press Act was taken from very few papers only, still it is a standing menace to the freedom of the press. Its danger lies in the fear that it instils into the hearts of editors. The editors are respectable men who have taken a vow to serve their country and their Government, and are sacrificing their money and their health for the purpose. It is not proper on the part of Government to make them feel their position unsafe. The stability of the British Government depends on the loyalty of the people more than on the strength of their arms. The paper says that under the Press Act the measures of Government are not subjected

to severe criticism. It fears that if this were to continue the authorities would come to look upon even innocent criticism as objectionable. The papers can now safely subject English politics to free criticism, but when Indian politics are to be commented upon, the editors have to muzzle themselves and be cautions. No one, says the paper, whether he is an Indian or an Anglo-Indian, should agree to this state of affairs. Both should endeavour to get the Press Act repealed. The people are now exceedingly loyal and the Government of Lord Hardinge is in every way conducive to the welfare of the country. Much is expected of him, says the paper. It hopes that he will repeal the Act in question just as Lord Ripon repealed the Vernacular Press Act.

Dr. P.C. Roy on Swaraj to India.

46. The Swadesamitran, of the 16th July, observes:-- Dr. P.C. Roy, who went to England as a representative of the University of Calcutta for the Universities' Conference recently held in England, is reported to have made the following remarks on the occasion of a dinner given in his honour by the Lord Mayor of Sheffield: "The Proclamation of Queen Victoria issued in 1858 is deemed to be a charter of liberties in India. The present Emperor has reiterated the promises contained in that proclamation and has thereby strengthened the bond of affection between England and India. It is true that England has still now committed many mistakes in its administration of India. But I know well that it is trying to rectify them one after another and it has recently bestowed some valuable privileges on the Indians. Everything shows that England wishes that the Indians and other British subjects should enjoy the same kind of privileges. When the time comes for deeming my country to be fit for swaraj, I feel sure that England will grant her all the privileges now conferred upon the colonies".

We are extremely glad to see these remarks of Dr. Roy. They are well worthy of being noted also by Lord Curzon and Lord Crewe. The former was surprised to see that India expected to have swaraj on the colonial lines and the latter declared that such a thing could never happen. Both of these noblemen occupy the highest position among the statesmen of England and their opinions should therefore be such as could be believed by the people. However, there is no doubt that they have erred in this matter. Dr. Roy is not a political agitator. He is a Government official quietly engaged in the work of scientific research. So his opinions can be taken to be those held by the Indians generally. When highly cultured and loyal men like Sir K.G. Gupta and Mr. S.P. Sinha are of the same opinion as Dr. Roy, what doubt is there that the Indians have swaraj as their ideal? If the aspirations of the Indians are one way and the determination of the British statesmen points in a different direction, will it not bring about a difference between the rulers and the ruled and cause much harm? How can the Indians be then expected to settle down as peaceful and contented subjects of the British Empire? The greater the privileges granted to the Indians, the higher will be their aspirations.

Lord Crewe and self-government.

47. With reference to the pronouncement of Lord Crewe that it is not possible to give the Indian self-government on colonial lines, the Kistnapatrika, of the 5th July, says that the utterances of politicians are like bubbles of water. They shine forthwith all the colours of a rainbow and disappear the next moment. In his despatch, dated the 25th August 1911, His Excellency the Viceroy has stated that the goal of British rule in India is self-government. The whole of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin felt highly gratified at this. Life without hope, says the paper, is unbearable. That self-government in India is for ever an impossibility is a very bold statement to make. No nation can live in despair. The present

condition may be very low. But, asks the paper, is it to continue for ever? Is there no hope of the darkness that now covers India being dispersed by light? Which statesman can fully divine the future of man? The infinite power that creates the universe is helping man in his onward progress. No statesman, however powerful he may be, can oppose that power. The future is not in the control of statesmen. It is in the hands of the Lord of the Universe. Lord Crewe can never be the maker of the future history of the Indians. The Lord of the Universe enteres into national life and inspires new ideals and new hopes. Society is not inanimate. It has life. It is gradually progressing. Every living society must have a bright future before it. He who has no belief in this can never become a reformer. If self-government, says the paper, has for any nation been the best ideal, nobody who has understood man's nature can venture to assert that India will never realise that ideal. It remarks that to say that the ideal of self-government in India is an impossible ideal is a dishonour to mankind which is progressing day by day. It is a disgrace to India which enjoys an ancient reputation. It is a slur on the fair name of the English who, having established schools and colleges, are inculcating their methods of life. The events that are taking place at present in different countries indicate the possibility of the ideal of self-government. English education generates in the minds of the Indians a desire for self-government. The pledges of Queen Victoria and many liberal English statesmen point to the same goal. The paper says that the utterances of Lord Crewe were intended for pacifying Lord Curzon, and it could not bring itself to believe that Lord Crewe who annulled the partition of Bengal will ever endeavour to blight the hopes of Indians.

Writing on the same subject, the Suvarnalekha, of the 2nd July, addresses Lord Crewe as follows:--"O, Lord Crewe! There can never be any defect in the loyalty of the Indians. As it is the nature of man to desire to hear agreeable words, we expected to hear that you supported what has been stated

by the Viceroy and the Under Secretary of State. But we are unfortunate. However, we are not sofry. We look on the King as an incarnation of God and believe that events happen according to the will of God. We therefore humbly represent that our sense of loyalty will never be affected. It does not matter if you have said that we could not have self-government. Has not the partition of Bengal which Lord Morley had declared to be a settled fact been annulled? Many are the privileges that have already been conferred on us. We will never forget them. We will always feel grateful for them. We feel proud that our condition is far better than that of those who live in countries where the subjects do not enjoy any privileges at all. It is the same whether we ask or ask not for anything. We feel confident that in the fullness of time you will yourself offer us the privileges we may deserve. But as it is our duty to ask for them, we do so. One day we hope to get them by the grace of God and by your kindness".

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 27TH JULY 1912.

No. 31 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

(General)

10. In a leading article under this heading, the Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 21st July, writes:--"Reuter's cable about Lord Crewe's interpretation of the Government of India's despatch gave us but an imperfect idea of what was actually said. On reading the full text of the speech we cannot help regarding the Secretary of State's repudiation as a most serious affair. Lord Curzon goaded Lord Crewe on to commit perhaps the greatest mistake of his public career.........Lord Crewe might promptly have referred Lord Curzon to the words of the despatch,--to the natural meaning they conveyed. But for reasons which are not apparent he went somewhat out of his way to make a declaration which has created dissatisfaction throughout India and which, we fear, may stir up discontent.........If, as Lord Crewe implies, Indians should always and to the end of time continue to be a subject race without the remotest opportunity of sharing with the other members of the Empire the right of self-government or even of hoping to share it, what becomes of the declarations recently made? What is to be the significance of the great Darbar itself if, because Indians belong to a race different from that of Englishmen, they should always remain on the outskirts of the Empire as a race to be ruled over? Even if such is the intention of the British people, is it statesmanlike, wise and politic to make an open declaration of the kind before all the world, especially after the Delhi Durbar of 1911?

The Trend of Indian Policy.

"Surely Lord Crewe thought not of the consequences and the inferences his declaration would lead to. Since he became Secretary of State he has been showing excessive deference to Lord Curzon. There has been evident almost in every one of his speeches an anxiety to satisfy and conciliate that self-sufficient politician. In hardly any one of his replies has Lord Crewe tries to assert himself. They have been needlessly compromising....... Lord Hardinge has said nothing on the issue raised. He was the statesman principally responsible for the wording of the despatch; and we cannot help thinking that Lord Crewe has failed to interpret his meaning. However, Indian public bodies and public men have a duty to discharge. They will have to enter their protest against the declaration made by the Secretary of State either at public meetings or in any other way they choose in such a manner as to leave no room for doubt about their attitude. In connection with an innocent passage in a recent speech by Mr. Montagu, Muhammadans all over India thought it necessary to give expression to their feeling, though the matter involved was a mere question of sentiment. What we are now considering affects the future political status of the people of India; and they will be doing the right thing in sending their firm and loyal protests to the responsible authorities in India and to the statesmen and politicians in England,--who ought to know what the Indian people think about the unwarranted declaration made by Lord Crewe. Once a Viceroy tried to explain away the proclamation of 1858, and now a Secretary of State attempts to do the same in regard to another great document. Would Indians be justified to looking on such performances with unconcern?".

The Public Service Commission.

12. Referring to a telegram from London that Lord Islington is to be the Chairman of the Indian Public Service

Commission, the Hindu, of the 25th July, says:-"What claims or qualifications Lord Islington possesses to guide the deliberations of so important a body as the Indian Public Service Commission it is difficult to know. Lord Islington is a 'dark horse' so far as the Indian public are concerned, and the mystery of his appointment is made the deeper from the fact of a Radical Ministry selecting one from the conservative ranks for the Presidentship of the Royal Commission".

Writing on this subject under the heading "Not a good beginning", the Madras Standard, of the 26th July, observes:-- "The announcement has been made that Lord Islington has been appointed Chairman of the forthcoming Public Service Commission The first question that will naturally be asked by every one in India as soon as he reads this announcement is, who is Lord Islington? It will be no confession of weakness to own that even those whose daily round it is to know of men and things more constantly than others will be non-plussed at this strange nomination for lack of information about his Lordship......The question that would vex us, till we know something worth recounting of Lord Islington, is why did the Liberal Government choose him of all men? There is of course one possible explanation and that is, we have been recently inured to the importation of colonial failures to all high offices. Colonial experiences seems to be regarded as necessary to fill public offices in India. We had a Viceroy directly imported from the Colonies and we have also had a number of Governors imported into Madras. Some of them like Lord Carmichael have proved successful, but most people like Sir Authur Lawley have proved failures. These appointments may be comfortable berths for Colonial Statesmen, but an appointment like the one just made is without a precedent. We have had in India a number of Royal Commissions appointed, and we have never to our recollection gone to the Colonies for the Chairman. Either the Presidents of these Commissions have been statesmen of some reputation who have served in

public life in the United Kingdom, or responsible officers in British India......We confess the appointment has disappointed us. Let us not be misunderstood. It is possible that Lord Islington will prove as an ideal Chairman and his conduct might secure universal approval. Meanwhile the public in India desire that the Committee must be a strong one and that it must have power to settle the question once for all. If so, the other members of the Committee, at all events, must be such as to command universal approbation. That is not possible if it has not a strong body of Indians on it.......At the last Commission only two Indians were nominated and its conclusions have not commended themselves to the punlic. In fact the recommendations were retrograde and the report is responsible for the division of the services into Imperial and Provincial, which has caused considerable heart-burning among the people. These divisions ought to go and perfect equality between Englishmen and Indians has to be established. The 'vested interests' will be strong against it and the Commission must be equally strong in its constitution if its conclusions are to derive due weight. We trust the personnel of the Commission will leave nothing to be desired".

16. The following appears in the Hindu, of the 24th July:-

The Colonies and the Empire.

"One important feature--we shall not say the most important--of the debate on the naval estimates was the interesting elucidation of the terms upon which the aid of the Colonies is to be given to the mother-country. The enormous acceleration of the German naval programme rendered it imperative for the mother country to cast about for some relief from the intolerable financial burden which would be laid upon her if she did not wish to be beaten in the race.

Naturally under the circumstances, she turned to the Colonies which were anxious and willing to have navies of their own to play with. The Colonies, however, have not been slow to insist that these navies are their own and that they could not be considered part of the Imperial navy except on certain conditions regarding which the British Government, weakly as we think, has now yielded. It would hardly be possible to blame the Colonies for insisting on these conditions. Britain's extremity was their opportunity and they were prepared to make the most of it. The price of support from the Colonies is that they should have a voice in the determination of Imperial policy and in the Councils of the Empire. In short, the Colonies are to have a voice in determining what the foreign policy of the Empire is to be and, unless we are much mistaken, in pronouncing upon inter-Imperial affairs. These two things involve such widely different consequences, though each is hardly less serious than the other, that we hope no foolish sentiment would be allowed to brush away the undoubtedly grave objections to both steps in the direction of Imperial Federation. It is not possible to arrive at anything definite from the vague utterances of the Ministers in the debate and the issues have been more or less confused.....The Anglo-Japanese alliance, for example, is meant to preserve peace in the Far East and to maintain the integrity of India. Australia, on the other hand, has always been suspicious of Japan and, in fact, is arming herself solely with an eye to possible Japanese aggressions. Is it then open to Australia to say 'we refuse our aid unless the Anglo-Japanese alliance is broken up, for we suspect Japan?' If it is not what then is this special 'voice in the policy of the Empire' that the Colonies want and that they have not already got? Is it in the name of common-sense possible for anything more to be done than for the foreign policy of the Empire to be explained to them as was done at the last Imperial Conference? Then again

there is the question of India. The views of the Indian Government have, as a rule, been acted upon at Home and in the ~~new~~ 'Council of Empire'?........The British Empire is going to be converted from the present unclassifiable conglomerate of self-governing and dependent States into an ordered State organised after the Federal fashion. We need not dilate on the difficulties in the way of such an object. They are many and to our minds fatal. There will have to be a Central Assembly on which all parts of the Empire will have to be represented on a certain basis, and which will exercise some of the powers now exercised by Parliament. But such an assembly will be practically impossible except as an advisory body. Then again India will be entitled to enquire what her position will be when the Colonies are admitted into the 'Councils of the Empire'. Is she not to have a voice in these Councils? The feeling of resentment which swept over India among all classes and communities when India was denied a voice in the last Imperial Conference ought to be sufficient warning to those who would answer that question in the negative. If it be argued that only self-governing States can reasonably be expected to be represented, the answer is that India has interests, unrepresented herself, to a body in which the Colonies will have by its nature a powerful voice. If again it be argued that rights imply duties of defence and that India hardly performs any such duties, the obvious reply is that India maintains a huge army at enormous expense and this army has been and is being employed to preserve the interests of the Empire in the East. India's sacrifice to the defence of the Empire is the crushing burden of her army. It was her army that went to England's aid in South Africa during the Boer War. Let us not be mistakn on this point. We do not argue that India should be entitled to elect her representatives in a Central Federal Parliament. But we do claim that India, or what comes to the same thing in this case, the Indian Government, should have simultaneously with the Colonies a voice in those 'Councils of

the Empire' whatever form they may take. India has no intention--and on this point every one in India will agree- of committing her interests to the tender mercies, of, shall we say, the Boers and Uitlanders of South Africa".

Emigration of coolies to be supervised rigorously.

32. A paragraph in the Kerala Patrika, of the 20th July, notices a case of emigration reported in the Reformer published at Calicut in which it was alleged that two minor boys of Ernad taluk was enticed by some one and taken as emigrants to the Straits Settlements where they contracted some disease of which they died at Madras on their way home. Though it is not possible to ascertain the truth of this report, it is an undisputed fact that many atrocites are perpetrated in the emigration of coolies to foreign countries. Those who are engaged in enlisting emigrants usually entice the poor coolies by holding out rosy hopes of east and plenty. They do not inform them of the true state of things. Most of the victims are ignorant even of the nature of the work they would be required to do and several of them are unaccustomed to any hardx labour. It is therefore no wonder that such persons fall sick under the rigors of the most trying estate labour and the cruelties of the planters. The authorities should try to check the vagaries of the Emigration Agents by a special rigorous supervison and an enquiry should be instituted to ascertain the truth or otherwise of the case reported in the Reformer.

The present condition of India.

42. The Swadesamitran, of the 20th July, observes:- The famous French editor, Mr. M. Augustin Bilan, wrote as follows in 1905 regarding the refusal of the late Mr. B.M. Malabari to receive any kind of presents from the people: "India is a country which respects those that beg. It is this laudable defect of the Indians that has handed them over to their European masters. The effort of a nation is the aggregate of the efforts of the

individuals comprising it. So, that community, among which no one has any high aspiration and uses his intelligence and wealth for his own advancement, will never progress. While other communities are progressing fast, this community will remain stagnant and this is the conditon of India". This opinion of the French editor should be taken to be true. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the plight of India was pitiable indeed. India has not produced a great man in any line after it came under the British rule. Still this ancient country has begun to improve. As was observed by Doctor Roy, England was beginning to realise the mistakes committed by her in Indian administration and rectify them. The Indians will soon have liberty and swaraj. Then India will progress as fast as other countries and do all that is necessary for increasing its greatness and wealth.

45. The Swadesamitran, of the 23rd July, writes:--On the occasion of a dinner given to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale by his Indian freinds in England, he is reported to have said: "I have never had a clearer and brighter vision about the future of India than what I have now. What ever may be the opinion of others regarding the third paragraph of the Despatch of Lord Hardinge, the Indians are determined to work for the acquisition of swaraj for the provinces as a first step towards the attainment of swaraj for India". By this time, both Lord Crewe and Lord Curzon should have understood that this is the opinion held by all the Indians. When it has been possible for the colonies to obtain their independence and yet to retain their connection with England, it should be possible for India also to do the same. Sir Charles Trevelyan who was once the Governor of Madras, observed: "It will be more beneficial to Great Britain to help the Indians to acquire independence, knoweldge and wealth and trade with them on equal terms than to keep them under subjection and rule

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale on swaraj for India.

them as ignorant slaves". India is now a poor country selling its raw products by shiploads and purchasing articles manufactured by foreigners. It does not gain much by selling its raw products. Our labourers and capitalists will profit materially by converting them into manufactured articles and then selling them. Very few foreign articles are now being bought by the Indians. Knowing that the Indians are poor, the foreign merchants are selling them cheap articles and sending valuable ones to other countries. If India becomes a rich country, it can afford to buy even these valuable articles. Then both India and England will be benefited. The latter does not profit much by its present trade with the colonies, as the population here is not large. If any profit is now made from the British trade, it is mainly from India and surely this profit will increase if India becomes richer. There is no doubt that if India acquiries swaraj its industries will have a luxuriant growth and money will flow in abundantly. The development of these industries is now being hampered by the interests of England being antagonistic to those of India in many respects. When India acquiries swaraj, it will not only improve its industries by levying protective duties as it likes, but will also save the money that is now being drained to foreign countries on account of several causes.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 3rd AUGUST 1912.

No. 32 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES;

II. Home Administration.

(b) Courts.

The administration of justice in India.

1. Referring to an article which appeared in the Times (London), recently, insisting on an enquiry into the cause leading to the serious miscarriage of justice in the Mymensingh case, and the subsequent inordinate delays, the Indian Patriot, of the 30th July, observes:--"Most people would welcome an enquiry ~~by~~ into the administration of justice in India, not such as is advocated by the Times, but an enquiry conducted by the right sort of men and in the right way. An enquiry is needed essentially into frequent miscarriage of justice and the causes which bring it about. Gross miscarriage of justice is found to occur in certain classes of cases, and the contributory causes have to be looked into.........The Times wants an enquiry into the judicial and executive estrangement which is said to be a special feature of Bengal administration; in other words, it wants to apportion the blame for the existing state of affairs between the judiciary as represented by the Calcutta High Court and the executive. A more idiotic suggestion could not have been possibly made, and yet the writer seems to have thought his suggestion quite practical. It is well known that the executive is not quite happy with the High Court; and no way has been found for dethroning the High Court. The latest move is to damn the High Court by an enquiry........The resolution passed at the Calcutta public meeting last week is a complete vindication by the most intelligent and the most influential people of the city and of the province of their High Court against the malignant attacks directed against it in

England. The resolution expresses most emphatically the confidence of the people in its justice and its personnel. The suggestion of the Times then amounts to this, that a tribunal which enjoys the unstinted confidence of the public ought to be subordinated to an executive which is not above allowing and condoning high-handedness of the kind which there has been nobody but the High Court to check. The executive can be high handed and oppressive in a perfectly legal manner. ....It will be well if the public in India realise the danger of the agitation against High Courts, and understand its significance. High Courts may not be perfect always. It may exhibit the drawbacks of human nature at times. But as a guarantee of justice between man and man, there is no other institution which can command the same degree of confidence as the High Courts. The High Court of Calcutta particularly has a long tradition of independence which naturally inspires confidence in the public mind of Bengal. And we may be sure that no responsible man, either in England or in India, will agree to weaken that confidence by listening to suggestions of the kind which we have no hesitation to characterise as idiotic".

(k) General.

Lord Crewe on self-government for India.

6. Commenting on the statement made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Lords, on the 29th July, regarding the third paragraph of the Government of India despatch of the 25th August 1911, the Madras Standard, of the 31st July, under the heading "Lord Crewe's legends", observes:--"The statement which Lord Crewe was constrained to make on Monday night explaining the Government of India despatch will be received in India with profound feelings of regret and disappointment, though nothing better was expected from him. It is not in statesmen's experience to retract from a step which they have once taken, hampered as they are by false notions of dignity and prestige,

and after the decided view which the Secretary of State for India has expressed on the question, he would be more than human and less imperfect than an Archangel if he varied or modified it after mature reflection. The professional politician has very little time to think and reflect upon those higher themes of national development, to apprise the value of the thousand and one currents that mysteriously move large masses of mankind and compel the revision of one's political categories, for which Lord Morley with rare philosophic detachment pleaded so eloquently the other day, and to take a due perspective of the social, economic and educational forces that are at work. That requiries a larger vision, a deeper sympathy with human nature and a more active brain-power which few statesmen can be seldom expected to possess. Some of us who do not believe in individual efforts, making or marring the destinies of nations, may be disposed to regret less the future that Lord Crewe is willing to assign to us, then the grave which Lord Crewe is digging for his own reputation as a statesman. Since the days of Dupleix, it is well known that India has proved the grave of many a reputation and it is a fortunate few who have escaped from being discredited. Not many perhaps have invited their downfall so unwisely as Lord Crewe is doing at present. A strange nemesis seems to overtake statesmen who begin their connection well with India and eclipse reputations that might stand the test of time........It was given to Lord Crewe, a Liberal statesman, to outdo the Conservatives and lay down a policy which we have no hesitation in saying is fundamentally opposed to the very high principles on which the Crown has promised to rule India when it took over the administration of the country into its hands. The Crown has not sought to set any limitations to our aspirations; it has not laid that at a certain stage of our progress, we should cry 'halt' and fall back....... Lord Crewe has not been particularly happy in expressing himself and it would have been wiser on his part if he

did not explain what the Government of India thought was their policy. We do not know if, since writing the despatch of last year, the Government of India had any reason to change their policy or explain it to the Secretary of State; but even with their imprimatur the declaration that Home rule is never to be our ambition, cannot win approval from intelligent people. Lord Crewe declared with emphasis that our final goal can never be swaraj but none of us are gifted with the prophet's gourd........Lord Courtney, with the true insight of the statesman, rightly remained the House that nobody was competent to pronounce the final word on the question, and that what statesman ought to do is not to speculate. It was unwise, he said, to attempt to put a limit to future developments, having regard to what was going on in the East, and that the future should be left to the knees of the gods. That is just the difference between the thinker and the statesman".

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 31st July, says:- "This is, we believe, the fourth time that Lord Crewe has essayed to explain the despatch of the Government of India as regards provincial autonomy. Yet, even with the fourth explanation, we are where we were as regards the actual significance of the passage. Besides colonial self-government Lord Crewe has introduced another word. Swaraj is newely added to increase the confusion of terms. The despatch spoke of provincial, and not of colonial, autonomy, but Lord Crewe has been warmly defending the despatch against the suggestion of colonial autonomy, Home rule and Swaraj. Having explained what the despatch meant once or twice, it would have been enough if His Lordship had said that he had nothing to add to what he had already said; that is the way Government deal with irrepressible questioners in Parliament, and that would have dispensed with a repeated discussion which is becoming ridiculous ....The discussion has been entirely profitless; but it has done harm by disturbing the minds of many people who have

different ideals and hopes. That policy, as stated by Lord Crewe, is by no means a new policy. It is as old as British rule itself. What we have not had are the men with conviction and courage to give effect to it in a broad and liberal spirit. Lord Morley had the courage to do it. But Lord Crewe seems to be lacking even in the courage to declare it plainly. It is his timidity that is prolonging a profitless controversy, and we wish there was an end of it".

The Public Service Commission.

7. Referring to the announcement in the House of Commons by the Under Secretary of State for India of the appointment and personnel of this Commission, the Hindu, of the 31st July, says:-"If the importance of the Commission is to be estimated by the nature of the functions allotted to it, it must be considered as of no secondary character. We doubt very much, however, whether its personnel has been so arranged as to meet public expectations. We have already said that Lord Islington, the President, is yet unknown to fame. Lord Ronaldshay is a Conservative Member of Parliament who has made himself known in the House of Commons chiefly by his antagonism to the aspirations of Indians. He was Aide-de-Camp, we believe, to Lord Curzon when he was Viceroy of India. The name of Sir Valentine Chirol, the famous special correspondent in India of the London Times, will not recommend itself much to the progressive portion of the Indian public. Sir Theodore Morison is known as a staunch friend of the Mussalman community from his past association with the Aligarh College as its Principal. He is not, however, believed to be in unison with the larger aspirations of the Indians. Sir Murray Hammick, our Acting Governor, may be expected to be a staunch exponent of the theory of the London Times in favour of the maintenance of a minimum of European officers in the higher posts. The one European member whose sympathies may be reckoned as being with the progressive section of the Indians is Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Member of Parliament.

We are glad that the Commission is to have his valuable services. It is a matter of regret that only three Indians have been appointed members of the Royal Commission. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, the Hon'ble Mr. Chaubal and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Abdul Rahim are all distinguished and worthy representatives of the Indian community, but there is no reason why the number of Indian members should not have been enlarged to be in keeping with the importance of the Commission and the Indian interests involved.......
The responsibility which has devolved upon the three Indians, distinguished and talented men as they are, is very heavy considering the duties they have to discharge. It cannot be doubted that in a conflict of interests, European and Indian, which the Commission will have to steer its way through, the representatives of the Indian element will stand much overweighted by those representing the European element. We need hardly add that at the hands of a Liberal Ministry the people of this country had been expecting a more equitable distribution of forces directing the proceedings of this important Commission, in its composition, than seems now to be the case".

The Wednesday Review, of the 31st July, writes:-"Lord Islington's qualifications to preside over the Indian Public Service Commission are not clear to us. For aught we can know, he may prove a success, but, in matters of moment, it is not wise to trust to luck. Unless the Government wished to spring a surprise upon us, it is hard to explain why they should have gone to New Zealand to select a Chairman for the Public Service Commission of India. Nearer home a dozen men are available who will make admirable Chairmen and whose intimate knowledge of India and her people will stand them in good stead in guiding the work of the Commission. With a strange forgetfulness of their existence, the Government go to explore the ends of the earth and alight on Lord Islington in New Zealand. There is in it the spirit of

adventure no doubt, but it is scarcely statesmanship. The Chairman of the Indian Public Service Commission must be one who is fairly conversant with Indian affairs and has a first-hand knowledge of the factors which will make for the efficiency and popularity of the public service. He must be able to bring a bear upon his work a well-balanced and not a blank mind. We do not see how Lord Islington satisfies these tests, and the Imperial Government owe an explanation to the public as to their choice. Perhaps they think that far-sighted statesmanship means sighting people at a distance.".

The Madras Standard, of the 1st August, remarks:-"The only thing is whether the Commission, as at present constituted, can be expected to discharge its functions satisfactorily. We confess to a feeling of strong disappointment at the constitution of the Commission and we are not obsessed by undue pessimism when we say that we may not gain much from it. Lord Crewe has recently developed into a sort of Handy Andy in Indian politics, but without the hero's saving grace of tumbling into the right in the end. It is impossible to conceive that liberalism should have so far degenerated as to tolerate the folly of one of its chief supporters in the Upper House finding no better men than Sir Valentine Chirol, Lord Ronaldshay and Sir Theodore Morison to represent it in the Commission. Lord Crewe has acted as a blind horse moping about in a dark room and apparently he has resigned himself to advisers of a sort. His political teachings seem to have been derived from the Times, and his guru seems to be Sir Valentine Chirol. The appointment of Lord Islington, whose nomination is yet unaccounted for, is a sufficient mystery in itself; but more mysterious than even that is the appointment of Sir Valentine Chirol. What are his claims, pray, except that he has toured in India sufficiently long to misknow Indians and misrepresent them? This sop to the

Press Cerberus, as we take it to be, is one of the most corrupting influences of modern life, which must leave a lasting scar upon British public morality! Lord Ronaldshay has been the most anti-Indian Member of the opposition and with a Conservative to preside, it is only in the fitness of things that the future Conservative Under Secretary for India should be associated with him. There may be some reason for Lord Morley ~~shoux~~ puffing up Sir Theodore Morison, for he happens to be the son of Mr. Cotar Morison, Lord Morley's friend, who wrote to him a few pieces for Morley's Men of Letters series. But why should Lord Crewe take a fancy to the ex-Principal of the Aligarh College? The Civil Service is, we find, represented by Sir Murray Hammick and Mr. Sly. The Anglo-Indian community has Mr. Madge to look after their interest and the Muhammadan community, Justice Abdul Rahim, along with Sir Theodore Morison and Earl Ronaldshay. The only unexceptionable nomination is that of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour leader in the Parliament. The Indian representation is, it is needless to say, extremely poor, Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Chaubal and Mr. Rahim being the only three. We know they will do justice to their duty, but we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that the task before them is exceedingly great and arduous, and it will require all their eloquence to win over partly at least the dead set which their nine colleagues are likely to make. If we may say so, the report may as well be written in Printing House Square".

The Indian Patriot, of the 1st August, observes:-"The constitution of the Public Service Commission, which was announced by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons, will not make people in India very enthusiastic. It is very inadequately representative of the Indian public. There is not a single native of Bengal on the Commission. The United provinces and the Punjab are wholly unrepresented. Bombay has Mr. Chaubal and Mr. Gokhale. Madras has Sir Murray Hammick. Mr. Justice Abdul Rahim is nominated as a representative ~~Mxx~~ Muhammadan rather than as a representative

of Madras, with the public services of which he has had no time to get sufficiently acquainted. But so far as Madras Civil Service is concerned we have no doubt whatever that Sir Murray Hammick is in every way the worthiest that could have been selected. His position in the service, his varied experience and his moderation of views entitle him to preference. But the popular opinion of Madras will not find adequate expression on the Commission. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim is a capable and independent gentleman who, as a High Court Judge, has won public esteem; but he has little knowledge of the condition of different branches of service, of the capacities of those employed and of the causes which have stood in the way of better appreciation of their services........Among other members of the Commission we find some whose nomination has to be welcomed. Sir Theodore Morison is a broad-minded Englishman whose acquaintance with Indian political problems is, to say the least, very respectable......We are inclined also to hope much from Sir Valentine Chirol's association with the Commission. We do not, of course, agree in many of his conclusions as regards Indian affairs. But he has shown an eminent sense of justice in dealing with the status of Indians in the public service. It was he that gave an unexpected shake to the easy confidence in the inviolability of the relation between the Imperial and the Provincial service; and in fact, in certain respects, Sir Valentine Chirol's criticisms have done more good to Indians than the most vehement advocacy of several others. However much we may differ from him, he is animated by a sense of fairness and is not altogether proof against sympathy with Indian aspirations. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is another who may be said on the whole to take a sane view of things...... No such reason as easily suggests itself in the case of these gentlemen is apparent in the case of Lord Ronaldshay. No doubt, he has now and then intervened in Indian debates

in Parliament; but he has hardly shown any conspicuous knowledge of Indian affairs or anything like acuteness in criticism. If he is of the same school as Sir J.D. Rees, the latter for his better knowledge would have been infinitely preferable........On the whole our complaint is less on account of the persons who have been selected than on account of others who might have been most fittingly been put in and whose selection would have inspired a higher degree of confidence in the public mind. We do not know whether it may not be possible to repair the defect.

"So far as the President of the Commission is concerned, we are not prepared altogether to go with those who object to Lord Islington. The main ground of the objection against him is that he has no knowledge of India, which, in a manner, is the same as saying that he has no prejudices or pre-possessions........Lord Islington is, without doubt, a capable man. Though he is said to be only 46 years old, he has had long Parliamentary experience. The disadvantage of want of Indian experience may make him an impartial President who will be essentially influenced by the evidence before him than by any previous theories or conclusions he might have formed".

The Cochin Argus, of the 3rd August says:-- "While the composition of the Commission is heterogeneous and somewhat startling, there has apparently been some desire to make it representative of various communities, interests and schools of thought. The President is one who knows nothing first-hand about India and its problems, and presumably he has therefore purposely been chosen for his great responsibility. Lord Ronaldshay knows a great deal about Asia generally. The presence of Sir Valentine Chirol is counterbalanced by that of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and vice versa. The Indian community it will be seen, have several very able representatives, notably Mr. Gokhale, while the Muhammadans will not only be represented by Mr. Justice

Abdul Rahim, but will have, we may presume, a supporter in Sir Theodore Morison. Even the domiciled community have been conceded a representative, and possibly this is due in some measure to the agitation now going on at Home on behalf of European education in India. What is strange, however, is that the Civil Service is represented by only two members; though this is greatly compensated by the exceptional ability of the two distinguished Civilians who have been nominated. It will be seen from the list that Justice Sir C. Sankaran Nair, in spite of a report that appeared in some quarters, has not been nominated a member. The heterogenous character of the Commission may be expected, we think, to accentuate public interest both with regard to the way in which it will go about its task of collecting evidence and the nature of the recommendations which it will eventually submit".

The Times on the Public Service Commission.

9. In an article under this heading the Madras Standard, of the 3rd August, writes:- "Under ordinary circumstances we should have expected the London Times to curse the very idea of the appointment of a Public Service Commission, but now that Sir Valentine Chirol is in it and a sop is thrown at the Times, it has begun to take exception to the only unexceptionable nomination in the Commission. It cannot bear even the very idea of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald sitting on the Commission and pleads for a reconsideration of the appointment. We do not remember any occasion when a member of a Commission has been asked to resign, but such considerations do not apply in the case of our contemporary. From one point of view the Times is right. Lord Crewe has written himself down such a Conservative and has so hopelessly placed himself in the hands of the Times, that it is wrong of him to have made Mr. MacDonald's nomination without the consent of Printing House Square. And, now, that a folly has been committed by him, the Times is right in

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taking him to task. But Lord Crewe owes an explanation to the party to which he still professes adherence and the Liberals are entitled to ask where the Liberal representation on the Commission is.......The co-operating members will have nothing to do in drafting or signing the report and they are to be apparently a sort of advisory body, and they can afford to be more irresponsible than the Commission itself. We do not know whether this sort of co-operation is likely to improve matters and even without the names of those co-opting members, it will be safe to predict that they cannot have any influence over the bulwark of prejudice and antagonism to Indian aspirations which the majority of the Commission as at present constituted is likely to set up. We venture to think that the Indian public, which has not taken kindly to the constitution of this Commission and has received the names of its members with consternation and dismay, will not be reconciled to these co-opting members and will strongly represent to the Secretary of State that he should enlarge the Commission by the addition of a few more members......We do not want to go the length of suggesting that some of the present members ought to be asked to resign as the London Times does--in which case we know whom we should be glad to see out of it--but the strength of the Commission ought to be augmented and it is high time our public men took up the question in right earnest before it is too late for the Government to move in the matter".

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

11. Referring to the public meeting held in Calcutta on the 26th July to consider the effect of the decision of the Privy Council in the Mymensingh case and other matters, the Indian Patriot, of the 27th July, writes;-"Calcutta has held its public meeting of protest with reference to the Privy Council judgment. The requisition to the Sheriff to call the meeting was signed by

The Calcutta public meeting.

the foremost citizens, by such men as Dr. Rash Behari Ghose and Mr. Chuckerbutty; and the meeting was presided over by one of the most cultured, most independent and influential of Bengal landholders, Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjee, C.S.I. There may be difference of opinion as ~~tne~~ to the expediency of making a public protest against the judgment of the highest Court of Appeal. When a decision is passed by such a tribunal, it has to be accepted. But the Privy Council decision is not an ordinary decision affecting a particular case alone. They have laid down a law whose effect can only be to give carte blanche to executive officers who are Magistrates and to give to everything they do the sanctity of a judicial act. "Magistrate" and "Court", their Lordships have held, are generally convertible terms, and that what a Magistrate does he does as a Court. Such a view must have very momentous results; and if that is the law, it goes without saying that it must be changed.........The Privy Council did not even take into account the high-handed way the search was conducted the wanton damage done to property, the confusion in which papers and things were thrown. The doors of the cutcherry themselves were broken open; and everything was done under the eye of the District Magistrate. If the law is what the Privy Council says it is, then it goes without saying that ~~that~~ that ought not to be the law. There ought surely to be a distinction between a Magistrate as an executive officer and Magistrate as a Court. Without such distinction, a Magistrate will be placed above law, his judicial discretion which cannot be questioned becoming his defence for everything he does....... The harm to the prestige of the High Court is a secondary matter. The High Court can take care of itself. It requires no champions to defend its rights and dignity. And it is evident that the Privy Council decision has not a whit impaired public confidence in it...........The public in India are not ~~xpxrxxspirxx~~ so resourceless as to accept the decision of the Privy Council as the last word in a matter of such moment.

If the Privy Council say that what it has laid down is the law, the legislature can lay down what it thinks ought to be the law. We feel no doubt whatever that the Privy Council law is a very dangerous law; and if the legislature made the mistake of making it what the Privy Council thinks it is, then the mistake must be remedied. Beyond remedying it there must also be a clearer division made between the executive and the judiciary, so that the one may not overlap the other. The protest is not against the Privy Council, but against the effect of its view of the law; for that view takes away the protection which people long considered they had under the law. The Privy Council has done what is considered its duty according to the law. We have to do what we deem necessary to get the law modified".

Writing on this subject the Madras Standard, of the 30th July says:- "Bengal has again given the lead. Our leaders here are yet to follow the example set on Friday last. The Calcutta Town Hall meeting is described as a mammoth meeting........ Except the matter referring to the Calcutta High Court, the other two which formed the subjects of two distinct resolutions ought to have been taken up by the public of this city for discussion at a public meeting. The degree of lethargy and indifference in Madras where personal squabbles and petty jealousies loom larger, and are mistaken for politics, is painfully astonishing. The decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Mymensingh case affects the whole of India and so does that wonderful interpretation by Lord Crewe of the third paragraph of the Government of India's despatch evidently meant as a sop to Cerberus, and mainly intended for consumption by the reactionary Lords led by that superior person, Lord Curzon of Kedleston. The need for the strengthening of the Judicial Committee when Indian appeals are heard is another subject of no small importance to the judicial administration of this country. And, yet, we have slept over them and no attempt has hitherto been made to

place on record the public opinion of this Presidency, as expressed at public meetings, and strengthen the hands of the non-official members of the Viceregal Legislative Council, who will, in all probability, take up some, if not all, of these questions.

"At the Calcutta meeting Mr. B. Chuckerbutty moved the resolution on the Privy Council decision. The resolution expresses the sense of public alarm at the state of the law in respect of the powers of a Magistrate as interpreted by the ruling of the Privy Council in the case of Brojendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury vs. Clarke, popularly known as the Mymensingh case........It is needless to point out that the interpretation opens the door to serious miscarriage of justice and constitutes a menace to the liberty of the people. Magistrates, are mortals, whatever their sense of judicial and administrative responsibility might be. Even as the interpretation stood before that of the Privy Council, instances of vagaries are not wanting.......Babu Motilal Ghose moved the second resolution expressing confidence in the Calcutta High Court and protesting against the proposed change of its status. The last resolution protesting against the interpretation given by Lord Crewe to the third paragraph of the Government of India despatch was moved by Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjea. So much has been written on the subject that there is no need to reiterate them. The last word on this burning topic has not yet been said........When three hundred millions of people animated by national consciousness and self-respect demand at the gates of the Imperial Parliament the grant of parliamentary institution, it does not lie within the moral competency of the mother of parliaments to refuse to them a gift so just and so rational and in such entire conformity with the illustrious traditions of the Great British people".

The Hindu, of the 30th July, observes:--"The public meeting of the citizens of Calcutta convened by the Sheriff was of great and far-reaching importance and the principal resolutions passed by it express, we have no doubt, the opinions of all thoughtful Indians throughout the country. The meeting was very largely attended, but, as a Calcutta Anglo-Indian contemporary points out, the assembly contained only two Europeans, of whom one was the Sheriff whose office necessitated his presence at the meeting. This circumstance reflects no credit on the European population in Calcutta and it brings into prominence what is a well-known fact that, in all matters and on all occasions when vital questions affecting the rights of the citizens as a whole are at issue between the people and the Government, the members of the European and Anglo-Indian communities stand rigidly aloof........The effects of the decision of the Privy Council in the Mymensingh case are a great menace to the liberty of individuals and the sanctity of the home whether they be European or Indian.......The Judicial Committee held that Mr. Clarke was acting within his powers as a Magistrate in forcibly searching the house of the zamindar in the manner he did. The startling conclusion is arrived at without due regard to several decisions of the various High Courts in India and can only be justified on the ground that the Indian legislature has subordinated the rights of the citizen to the actions of the executive, however highhanded and unjust they may be. The judgment of the Privy Council has been subjected to a well-considered and convincing criticism by a Calcutta legal journal.........Holding that Mr. Clarke was technially protected by the provisions of the Indian Criminal Procedure in the oppressive action which he took, the august tribunal holds that the two Courts in India have contributed to a 'serious miscarriage of justice'. It is a strange application of the word 'justice' and 'its miscarriage' to connect them not with the person of the

zamindar whose hearth and home were violated by an act of executive violence, but with the Magistrate who, though he may be protected by the law in his action, had acted, according to the findings, in an unwarrantable manner as regards the search.......From English Judges who are familiar with the principle that an Englishman's house is his castle, we are entitled to look for a more thoughtful consideration of the facts and principles involved in the Mymensingh case than is to be found in the judgment of the Judicial Committee. The Calcutta public meeting in which Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, Mr. Chuckerbutty and other distinguished lawyers and public men took part, has done a notable service to the country in drawing pointed attention to the grave consequences to the liberty of the subjects which are likely to ensue from the decision of the Privy Council in the Mymensingh case. The second resolution which was adopted at the meeting was one relating to the constitution of the Calcutta High Court. It rightly points out that, among the gifts of British rule to the people, the High Court is one of the greatest, and, by its impartial administration of justice, the Calcutta High Court has conduced largely to the contentment of the people and has deepened the foundations of British rule in this country. The meeting warmly deprecated the agitations set on foot by that jack in the box Sir J.D. Rees and others against Barrister and Vakil Judges in the High Court. It also expressed its opinion that the Calcutta High Court should continue to have the same direct relation with the Government of India as at present. We are in entire agreement with this view..........By an Act recently passed, the power of making temporary appointments of Judges in High Courts is vested in the Governor-General and an extension of this power as regards acting appointments would be in the interests of sound administration. It would conduce to strengthening the prestige and the independence of the Judges, and increase the confidence of the public in their

impartiality. The third resolution passed in the public meeting related to Lord Crewe's construction of the famous passage in the Government of India despatch relating to autonomy. It will be noted from Reuter's telegram to-day that the matter has been the subject of an elaborate discussion in the House of Lords last night. Lord Crewe gave an explanation seeking to reconcile his views with those expressed by Mr. Montagu. He adhered, however, in the main to the retrograde and unsympathetic position which he had taken up before.......Lord Courtney, however, rightly observed in the course of the debate that nobody was competent to pronounce the final word in such a matter as the future of India. It was unwise in view of what was happening in the East to put a limit for future developments. It was enough for the present to persevere in the present wise policy and leave the future to the knees of the gods. These are wise words which Lord Crewe and men of his way of thinking had better ponder over. It is neither upon the rash predictions nor the gloomy forebodings of this or that school of British politicians that the future of India depends. Patriotic Indians will realise that, while they are bound to discard the belittling of their national aspirations from whatever quarters it may proceed, the future of their country will be largely determined by the efforts made to solidify their aims".

13. The Mysore Star, of the 29th July, writes:-General Botha

Indians in South Africa.

said in a recent speech that to draw a comparison between Ireland and the British South Africa in the discussions in the British Parliament over the Irish Home Rule Bill is not quite correct. While the idea of granting self-government to the latter country is quite agreeable to General Botha, he is not over-pleased if the wrongs inflicted by

him on the people of another part of the same empire are brought up before the Parliament. All the Indians in South Africa were driven out and their place was unsurped by the Whites. Not satisfied with this, they still look upon the Indians with hostile eyes. It would seem that, with General Botha, England constitutes the whole British Empire and the English people the whole population of that empire. The problem as to what is to be the destiny of the other thirty-six crores of people of the empire seems never to disturb his mind. Both the German and French legislatures have passed decrees granting the rights of citizenship even to those of their subjects who are of semi-European parentage. What a contrast this forms with the hostile attitude of the British South Africans towards Indians! But this highhandedness of theirs is not liked by God. In spite of all the efforts of the Whites to extirpate the Blacks, the birth-rate is much higher among the latter. To prevent this increase in the numbers of the Blacks is beyond General Botha's power. Although it is good to both parties to live in peace and harmony with each other, the Whites are too much intoxicated with pride to perceive this truth. We do not know when this bitterness of the Whites will end.

Desecration of a Muhammadan mosque by Hindus.

16. The Shams-ul-Akhbar in its daily issue, of the 27th July, contains an account of the disturbance which took place on the night of the 25th July in the Weavers' street in Triplicane, as given by its reporter, which is as follows:- On the 25th night of July the Hindus committed a dangerous disturbance in the street. The mosque was utterly desecrated and the houses of Muhammadans were looted. The fact is as the Hindus used to pick up quarrels with the Muhammadans at their annual procession, the Muhammadans made it a rule to leave their houses at the time leaving their females and the old within. In accordance therewith, they left their

houses when the procession, attended by a large crowd of Hindus, started. There were about twenty Hindu constables, one Christian Inspector and a sub-inspector therewith. The Hindus did not stop the music while marching past the mosque which is against rules, and they threw missiles on the adjoining houses and the mosque. On the return of the procession to its place a goodly number of processionists arrived at the mosque at the instigation of certain persons and committed all sorts of sacrilege. Lanterns were broken to pieces, carpets were torn, mats were burnt and the travellers within were wounded. This being over, the badmashes entered the houses of the Muhammadans. The tiles on the houses, the windows, the utensils, tools all were destroyed and burnt. A Muhammadan press was entered into, a goodly number of religious books were torn to pieces and a sign board on a druggist's shop was broken, even the municipal lamps have not escaped damage. Afterwards they dispersed. The reporter says that it was desirable that there should have been Muhammadan constables and a sub-inspector. He concludes the report with the remark that great anxiety prevails amongst the the Muhammadans and that security should be taken from the ringleaders, and the culprits should be arrested.

The Jaridah-e-Rozgar, of the 27th July, also publishes an account of the above disturbance, and hopes that the Commissioner of Police will trace the real culprits and punish them, and grant compensation to the Muhammadans.

The Mukhbir-e-Dakhan, of the 31st July, with reference to the disturbance created by the Hindus on the night of the 25th July in Weavers' street, Triplicane, observes that no offence is so heinous as that of the sacrilege of a place of worship and the offenders should certainly be punished. The Police ought to have guarded the lives and property of the Mussalmans who had been directed to leave their houses during the time of procession. If a clear

evidence is obtained of the breach of peace, then why should there be any delay in this matter as delay might wound Mussalman feelings. If the report regarding the disturbance is true, then the Mussalmans have given a signal proof of their loyalty to the Government.

(k) General.

The President of the Public Service Commission.

21. With reference to the announcement regarding the President of the Public Service Commission, the Swadesamitran, of the 26th July, says:--We understand that Lord Islington will be the President of this Commission. This gentleman is now the Governor of New Zealand. Nothing else is known about him than that was a Conservative Member of Parliament till 1910, when he was made a Peer and appointed to his present post. We are at a loss to know why the Liberal Government should have pitched upon a Conservative for this post. It may be that he is an impartial man appreciating the rights of the Indians. We do not think that the fact that he has no experience whatever about Indians is a disqualification. It is enough if he has liberal viewes, is in favour of the progress of India and realises that the people of any country are justified in attempting to secure the highest appointments in the public service.

The Public Service Commission and its work.

22. The Swadesamitran, of the 27th July, observes:- The London Times has already begun its sermon on the lines on which the Public Service Commission should conduct its enquiry. It impresses upon the members of this Commission the fact that the two rules framed during the Viceroyalty of Lord Landsdowne in connection with public services have not lost any of their force even now, though the Indians may try to argue against them. These rules are--

1) That there should always be some English officials in the highest executive appointments under the Government of India.

2) The idea of holding the Civil Service examinations simultaneously both in England and India should be abandoned altogether.

Now, in spite of the Times, the Indians will fight hard for the abolition of these rules which tend to curtail the liberty and dignity of the Indians. It was declared in Parliament as early as 1833 that there would not be a governing caste in India and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 contained a promise that appointments in India would be based, not on racial distinction, but on capability and educational qualifications. These promises have been confirmed both by King Edward and our present Emperor. Thus it will be belying all these promises, if it is now laid down that certain high appointments in India should be reserved to Englishmen and that the Civil Service examinations should be held only in England. If the present Commission is to do its work on the understanding that it is necessary that these two rules should continue in force, it were well that the Commission had not come into existence at all. The Indians consider their inability to secure equal appointments with Englishmen to be a slur cast upon their race. This Commission should therefore make such recommendations as will prevent an impression being created in the minds of the Indians that the watchword of hope left by the King-Emperor during his recent visit is after all in vain.

25. The Desamata, of the 24th July, refers to two incidents in which young boys were enticed by Emigration Agents and sent away to distant foreign lands to serve there as coolies. The Agents held out false hopes to them and enticed them away from those who dearly loved them, causing them the pangs of separation. The paper asks, "Are we to bow down and keep quiet while the hard-hearted Agents do much mischief in order to benefit foreign companies? Should not every social body in this country censure severely the acts of Emigration Agents

Emigration.

who with selfish motives do not hesitate to separate children from their parents secretly to send them away as coolies? Should we not reprimand those who allure innocent persons into difficulties"? When Mr. Gokhale requested the Government to enact a law stopping emigration, they attached no importance to his words, but acted, says the paper, against the wishes of the people. If the Government of Madras really have the welfare of the country at heart, the paper hopes that they will inquiry into the incidents referred to above and do justice to the public.

A political prisoner's Suicide.

26. Referring to the suicide committed by Indubhushana Roy who was transported to the Andamans for sedition, the Desamata of the 24th July, says that, according to the account contained in the Bengalee, this person more than once reported his physical inability to do the work allotted to him by the jailor. He represented that he was suffering from sore hands, and that he could neither eat nor sleep and implored that he might be removed to the hospital and treated there till his hands got all right. The jailor grew angry at this and sent him away with harsh words. He committed suicide that very night to avoid his sufferings. The paper says that if what the Bengalee has reported is true, the conduct of the hard-hearted jailor is most reprehensible. Punishment has been prescribed for reforming the wicked, and not for satisfying one's feelings of anger and pride. While all nations are endeavouring to reform the wicked without punishing them, it is very much to be regretted, says the paper, that Indubhushan, who was sentenced to transportation for sedition, should be forced, as it were, to commit suicide on account of the harsh treatment which he met with at the hands of the jailor. The paper hopes that Lord Hardinge will investigate the matter and punish the jailor if he is found guilty, so that the fair name of the rulers may not be tarnished.

27. Commenting upon Lord Crewe's speech at the recent debate in the British Parliament over the Government of India Bill, the Mysore Star, of the 29th July, observes:-

Lord Crewe's recent speech on the Government of India Bill.

The remarkable pronouncement of Lord Crewe on this occasion regarding Indian political aspirations has thrown a damper on the enthusiasm of the hopeful Indians. Only a few years ago Lord Curzon had alienated public opinion in India by giving a strange interpretation to the proclamation of Her Majesty the late Queen Victoria, and here is Lord Crewe trying to explain away the promises made by His Majesty King George at the recent Delhi Darbar, while all India is rejoicing over the boons granted on the occasion; but Lord Crewe may have his own reasons for doing so. It is well-known that the changes announced last December have not met with the approbation of either Lord Curzon or Lord Minto, and probably it is to conciliate these hostile critics that Lord Crewe made such remarks. But whatever Lord Crewe and others may say, so long as we have His Majesty's watchful eye over us, there is not the slightest doubt that he will see that his benevolent intentions are fully carried out.

VI. Miscellaneous

32. The Swadesamitran, of the 25th July, writes:- In reply to a question in the House of Commons by Mr. Douglas Hall, Mr. Montagu stated that the arguments against the prohibition of the emigration of indentured Indian coolies to the colonies were sufficiently explained at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held in March last, and that a committee appointed to consider this question had reported that indentured Indian coolies might be sent to some of the colonies subject to certain conditions.

The emigration of Indian coolies to the colonies.

At the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council referred to by Mr. Montagu, the proposition brought forward on this subject ~~xm~~ was lost by a difference of one vote, though all the non-official members voted in favour of it. Though the Indian coolies are sent out of India, apparently with ~~with~~ their consent, this is in fact done only by deception and force. We need not say much about the hardships to which these are subjected, during their stay in the colonies. Even lately an Indian cooly was not only given a severe beating for having committed a paltry mistake, but even charged subsequently with having tried to poison his master and the members of his family. Fortunately for him the Judge and the Jury acquitted him of this charge. Not being able to bear the torments of their European masters, these foolish Indian coolies try to escape, and where that is not possible even commit suicide. The Government should now interfere and, at least for the sake of human sympathy, prevent the emigration of Indians to the colonies. The very fact that the Indians in the colonies are not in a position to pay the colonial Whites in their own coin is a sufficient ground for prohibiting their emigration. There is also another reason why this emigration should be stopped, and that is that the economic condition of India suffers by it. The India of to-day is not the same as the India of a decade back. Factories have now been opened in several places on European lines and Indian labourers are required therein. The number of these factories is bound to increase as time goes on. Difficulty is already being felt on account of the want of a sufficient number of Indian labourers to work in these factories. The majority of the labouring classes in India are living in villages and depend upon agriculture for their support and in those months in which they have nothing to do, they work for wages in the neighbouring towns. Very few of them are bold enough to go to distant countries with the idea of making money, and these permanently settle in those foreign countries, not having the facilities to return home. It is the duty of

the Government to prevent these persons from emigrating to other countries and make them work in the local factories. We cannot understand the meaning of an English Committee deciding a question of affecting the material prosperity of the Indians, against the opinion of the latter. Questions concerning the feelings and privileges of the Indians should be decided by them and not by foreigners. How can we accept the policy of robbing Peter and paying Paul?

The Anglo-Indian Education Conference.

33. The Swadesamitran, of the 25th July, comments as follows upon the proceedings of the Anglo-Indian Education Conference now being held at Simla:--Many resolutions have been passed by this conference, the most important of which is the one advocating compulsory education for Anglo-Indian children. What surprises us most is that the proposer of it was the Hon'ble Mr. Madge, who was the very gentleman who opposed a similar proposition of Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Legislative Council. In opposing Mr. Gokhale's Primary Education Bill, this gentleman said that, first of all, normal schools should be established and good school-houses provided before compulsory education for the masses could be thought of. Perhaps, in his opinion, these two essentials already exist in the case of Anglo-Indians.

The Swadesamitran, of the 26th July, continues its comments upon the same subject in the following strain:- So much fuss has been made about the education of a class of people whose population does not exceed 2½ lakhs. These Anglo-Indians, though born and bred up in India, think that they are above the Indians. The revenue paid by this class to the Government is far less than what is paid by the other classes and yet they claim special privileges at the hands of the Government of India. The Hindus are the original settlers in India. Then came the Muhammadans and after them the Anglo-Indians. Still the favour of the Government towards these classes is in the reverse order. The first favourites are the Englishmen, then come the Muhammadans and

then the Hindus.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 10TH AUGUST 1912.

No. 33 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

The Public Service Commission.

5. The West Coast Spectator, of the 3rd August, observes:- "We are afraid the personnel of the Public Service Commission will not give satisfaction to the people. The President Lord Islington knows as much about India as the main in the London street. Lord Ronaldshay's qualifications are that he is the pronounced enemy of Indian aspirations, who rarely misses an opportunity to have a fling at educated Indians, and that he was for some time an Aide-de-Camp to Lord Curzon. Sir Murray Hammick is a sun-dried bureaucrat who can be expected to act up to the policy laid down by the London Times, namely, to leave always is a strong European element in the public service. Sir Valentine Chirol's qualification is that he had once stumped the country and wrote a book containing observations not at all flattering to the Indian people and their aspirations. There are only three Indians on the Commission, namely, Messrs. Gokhale, Chaubal and Abdur Rahim, who can easily be 'outvoted' by their colleagues. Another 'ray of hope' is Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, whose sympathy with our aspirations are well known. The Secretary of State ought to have appointed a few more Indians to the Commission. It is unintelligible to us why a Liberal Government should have sought the help of Conservatives, Conservatives like Lord Ronaldshay and Sir Valentine Chirol. There are Lord Courtney,

Lord Macdonald, Sir William Wedderburn and a host of others who know India and her people and administrative problems intimately. This is not the first time the Liberals have acted in this manner towards India. We have, however, to make the best use of a bad situation and earnestly hope that the Indian members will spare no pains to get prominent attention to our demands".

Writing on this subject the West Coast Reformer, of the 4th August, remarks:--"The European element is too strong in the present Commission and it is feared the Commission may not succeed in doing much good to the Indian members of the public services. The nomination of Mr. Macdonald is received with satisfaction by the progressive party in this country. We hope the Commission will not overlook the new and high aspirations of the Indians to remove whose grievances the Commission is now constituted".

The Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 4th August, says:--"Excepting Mr. Gokhale, not a single Indian public man has been chosen to serve on the Commission, though the Secretary of State has found places on it for a Tory member of Parliament and a member of the editorial staff of the Times. We know nothing of the views of Lord Islington. He is expected to bring an open and impartial mind to bear on the enquiry. On the whole the composition of the Commission is rather whimsical. It is indeed a piece of diversified mosaic. We wonder whether there will ever be any unanimity at all among a body thus constituted".

The Wednesday Review, of the 7th August, writes:--"The composition of the Indian Public Service Commission offers some consolation for the disappointment caused by Lord Islington's appointment as its President. In many respects the personnel of the Commission is remarkable, though we are not sure if the selection of the members has

gone on any principle. Lord Ronaldshay, Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald form a strange group, while it is hard to know where Sir Valentine Chirol comes in. However, the members are neatly balanced against each other, and it must be interesting to speculate upon what points men with such different political ideals are likely to agree. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's go-ahead radicalism may be tempered by Lord Ronaldshay's stay-where-you-are conservatism and perhaps Mr. Gokhale may try and prepare a meeting ground for them somewhere. His Excellency Sir Murray Hammick's presence will add considerably to the strength of the Commission and he may be expected to guide his collegues as to the proper proportion to be maintained between Europeans and Indians in the various services without detracting from their efficiency or popularity. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim with the help of Sir Theodore Morison will be able to advance the interests of the Muhammadan community, while the domiciled community will have their champion in Mr. Madge. Mr. Chaubal's ripe experience and knowledge will afford valuable guidance to the Commission, as he can know the limitations under which the Government have to meet non-official demands. Altogether the composition of the Commission is one to which we cannot reasonably take exception, though we might wish there were a few more Indian representatives on it".

The Cochin Argus, of the 10th August, remarks:-"For our part we are inclined to think that a larger sense of responsibility may be counted upon from Mr. Ramsay Macdonald as a Public Service Commissioner than was exhibited by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, the tourist in a hurry. Besides, seeing that Sir Valentine Chirol has been given a seat on the Commission, it is not quite fair, we think, to criticise the Government's nomination of Mr. Macdonald".

Sir Valentine Chirol on the Indian Civil Service

6. In a leading article under this heading, the Madras Standard, of the 5th August, writes:-"Among the many strange appointments that have been made to the Public Service Commission, perhaps, none is more strange than the appointment of Sir Valentine Chirol. Sir Valentine is known to be on the staff of the Times and the knighthood was conferred upon him by the Liberal Government presumably for his services as a special correspondent of that paper who enquired unofficially into the causes of Indian unrest and wrote a series of letters on the same........Sir Valentine has had his say and he has expressed his views in no mistaken terms. If Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has not a high opinion of ~~them~~--Sir Valentine Chirol's opinions of Indians and their aspirations are actually perverse. His contempt of the Indian is undisguised and in his view the educated Indian who asks for more berths in the services is disaffected ....Is Sir Valentine the man who can be expected to keep the scales even between the English and Indian official? Is the English official who, Sir V. Chirol admits, is naturally more disposed to count up his years of service and to retire on his pension at the earliest opportunity, more sympathetic, more kind and more generous than the native official whose very countrymen are dying of starvation in the administration of famine relief? We venture to suggest that the man who so unreasonably disparages the loyal co-operation of the 'native' official cannot be expected to hold the scales even between the two classes of His Majesty's subjects in India...........As far back as 1879 Lord Lytton laid down rules which gave to natives of India one-sixty of appointments until then reserved for the Covenanted service and we have certainly not yet reached the limits of Indians who may immediately with advantage be employed in the different branches of the public service; but few who know the defects as well as the good qualities of the native will deny that to reduce hastily the European leaven in any department would be to jeopardise its moral

The Civil services and Randolph Churchill had better opinion of them —

as well its administrative efficiency. We have here then a clue as to the utmost limit of concession that we can expect from Sir Valentine Chirol. If a sixty of the appointments promised by Lord Lytton and a few more appointments in the Provincial services are all that can be expected of this Commission, we need hardly say that it would cause considerable disappointment; and that is the utmost that Sir Valentine Chirol at all events would recommend. It is therefore all the more necessary that public opinion in India should be sufficiently roused to a due sense of the importance of the subject and should express itself in no mistakable terms as to the irreducible minimum that will satisfy them. In no case ought the perpetuation of the provincial and Imperial services be allowed".

Treatment of political prisoners.

10. The Madras Standard, of the 7th August, writes:- "The Government of India has published a statement on the suicide of Indu Bushan Roy, a political prisoner who recently hanged himself in his cell in the Andamans. We have already referred to the harrowing details of his death as published in the columns of the Bengalee. The statement of the Government of India is colourless. It does not directly contradict the allegations made in the columns of our contemporary and therefore, in our opinion, fails in its purpose".

Indians in South Africa.

16. Referring to a circular recently issued by the Natal Immigration department, addressed to applicants, for for the admission of their wives into Natal, the Hindu, of the 8th August says:- "We do not know what will be the attitude of Lord Emmot, who quite recently counselled Lord Ampthill to wait for the Unionists to come into power for inaugurating a policy of constant nagging in respect of the self-governing colonies towards an extraordinarily outrageous

circular issued by the Acting Immigration officer of Natal. Mr. Cousins, the Immigration officer, has detailed the proofs which should be furnished by wives of domiciled Indians in Natal as to their wifehood before they would be allowed to enter Natal and join their husbands. No more wanton insult could be offered to Indians, and we cannot conceive of a more urgent matter on which the Government of India could address the Imperial Government and get the abnoxious circular withdrawn at once. The feeling is irresistible that the statements of statesmen in England regarding the affairs of Indians in the colonies has been taken to be an invitation to go their own way without any fear of their actions being called in question, because they are self-governing colonies. We trust, with the Indian opinion, that Indians in Natal will treat this silly document with the contempt it deserves. As our Johannesburg contemporary says:--'In a single circular Mr. Cousins has insulted Indian women, has impugned the honesty of Indian Magistrates and even Judges (for, we presume, he will not accept the testimony of even High Court Judges, if they are Indians) and has insulted even European officials because he wants certificates from superior European officers who, in turn, are insulted by being called upon to send all the records on which they issued the certificate required'.

The All-India Muslim League.

17. In a leading article discussing under the heading "the Muslim Move", the report of the All India Muslim League, presented at a general meeting in London recently, the Madras Standard, of the 9th August, writes:--"We are glad to find from the report of the London Muslim League that the Muslims have awakened from their stupor to a full realisation of the evil of segregating themselves from the rest of Indians and trusting to their advancement upon the extraneous circumstance of their being the unwitting tools of certain Anglo-Indian reactionaries. They now seem to realise acutely that the gate-

keepers' arguments and of their being a homogeneous race are all very well to cheer and echo in an after-dinner oration, but as providing sufficient ground to advance their special interests they are of no value. The cause or causes for this disillusionment do not seem to be Indian; they are Persian and European...........The report suggests a mutual and purely voluntary arrangement for avoiding, where Muhammadans are in a minority, the sacrifice of kine out of regard for Hindu sentiment and the substitution of goats and sheep, the Hindus, on their part, abandoning proscription and disparagement of the Urdu language and allowing Muhammadans peaceably to enjoy the constitutional privileges accorded to them and the participation on equal terms of the benefits of British rule. We deeply sympathise with these objects and we may assure the Muslim League that if they would only observe their part of the understanding we would be perfectly willing to let by-gones be by-gones. We have always laboured for the participation on 'equal terms' of the benefits of British rule and have never pleaded for differential treatment: nor shall we in the future.........We are afraid that there are certain elements in the Muslim League which do not quite make up for co-ordination, and chief among them would be the Right Hon'ble Amir Ali. By declaring that they were Muslims first and Indians afterwards, Mr. Amir Ali only showed that the League was tinged with pan-Islamism, which is enough to drive away the sympathies of even the most ardent friends of Islam.........Mr. Amir Ali's aggressiveness is not apparently at an end and, presiding at the general meeting, he said that the Muslim organisations were much less exotic than many similar bodies. He claimed for them that they came into existence without outside impulse and worked without outside inspiration. This is a most unworthy reflection upon some of those English friends by whose co-operation and advice the Indian National Congress was brought into existence, upon men like Mr. A.O. Hume,

Sir William Wedderburn and Lord Duffering. We should not have expected a man like Mr. Amir Ali to make such an insinuation just when the whole country is mourning the death of Mr. Hume. After all, a movement does not become exotic by the fact that it is inspired and helped at its early stages by well meaning Englishmen any more than by depending for its support on alien influences as the Muslim League is doing. What influence would the league have had if Lord Minto had not received a deputation of its members, if the Anglo-Indian journals here and the Times in England had not puffed it up? Those who live in glass-houses ought not to throw stones at others".

Writing on this subject the Indian Patriot, of the 9th August, remarks:-"The latest attitude of the Muslim League, as revealed in the report of the All-India Muslim League, published from London, is highly gratifying. The Muslim League is convinced that there is more need for union than for separation, for co-operation than for antagonism. An alliance between the Congress and the League, as proposed by the latter, will be heartily welcomed by every well-wisher of India and Indians; and it behoves all to earnestly work for the realisation of the aims set forth. There are still extremists in both the Congress and the League. But they are not a dominant force in either. It is perfectly right that Muhammadans should have their interests duly safeguarded, and the contentment that has been theirs at the concession made to them has been the cause of the new desire on their part for cordiality of relations with the Hindus and the Congress. The whole community of Muhammadans, discontented and embittered, would have been a source of extreme weakness to the cause of India's progress. Their satisfaction, therefore, is a matter for joy. And while we are bound to admit that their separate efforts have been the immediate cause of this satisfaction, we still think that by wiser guidance at the beginning they could have got all that they wanted without causing bitter jealousy and

antagonism between the two; and no special efforts would there have been necessary to bring them together in amity and concord ....The suggestion of the League for an interchange of delegates beween it and the Congress constitutes a recognition of the fact that both have common aims to promote and that both can more fully co-operate. We have no doubt that co-operation in political matters is the best basis of co-operation in all other matters, and the former assured the other will follow. So long as the political sense remains different, there must be a spirit of mutual antagonism. We hope, therefore, that this foundation will be laid first, not only for its own sake, but as a means to the attainment of other objects. Free association in politics will necessarily attenuate other differences, it will lead to increasing amity and toleration. The broad spirit which has inspired the proposals of the League will easily solve such comparatively minor questions as those of co-killing and religious processions. These are confined to the more ignorant classes who can be easily educated into a better sense and feeling. Let the leaders of Hindus and Muhammadans stand forth proclaiming peace and co-operation, and there will be an end of all disputes.

Mr. Amir Ali's speech was not as happily worded as the report. It was not exactly in the spirit of the report. Yet the deliberate opinion of the League is there; and in the ~~facts~~ face of it we need not attach undue importance to the expression of individual opinion which, in all probability, has suffered in the summary..........We have no doubt that the Congress will accept with all cordiality the right hand of fellowship extended by the Muslim League, and that between the two all kinds of avoidable differences which now prevail will be buried".

18. The Madras Standard, of the 10th August, writes:--"On Monday evening, at the Victoria public Hall, a meeting of the

Lord Crewe and the Madras public.

citizens of Madras will be held under the auspices of the Provincial Congress Committee to review briefly some of the latest acts and utterances of Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India. We hope and trust that the meeting will be one of the most successful ever held in this city, and that all the leading men of weight and influence will not only be present on the occasion, but take part in the deliberations of the evening..........His Lordship cannot complain that his advent to the India Office was received with any but the utmost enthusiasm and good will for his success. He had the excellent record of being a radical, and though His Lordship had not spoken on India, the belief was entertained that he would bring to the consideration of Indian problems the same wide outlook and freedom from prejudice which he usually brought to bear on Home or Foreign affairs. As the successor too of Lord Morley, it was hoped that, even if he did not initiate any new policy, he would at all events not deviate from liberal traditions and liberal principles. The disappointment is therefore more keen and bitter in that His Lordship has wontonly provoked popular disapprobation by giving expression to sentiments which a thinker and statesman like Lord Courtney felt constrained to repudiate in unmeasured terms............ Lord Crewe has no excuse for the parrot-cry that India is unfit for self-government and that she must always remain a dumping-ground for the sons of the British middle class who alone are competent to rule over her...........There are some people even in this country who are willing to excuse these little foibles of great men who indulge in national forecasting, but unfortunately they ignore the fact that the ideals which statesmen keep before themselves are always bound to react upon the enunciation of their policy in daily routine, and that unless we keep our eyes firmly fixed upon the pole-star of our national destiny, we are apt to loose sight of our way and flounder in the dark...........We are glad that the Madras Provincial Congress Committee has been the first to realise the absurdity of our keeping silent, because it is a Liberal

Secretary of State who is about his pranks. We trust that there would be no attempt to mince matters and that the meeting will voice the general feeling without any qualification whatsoever. While Lord Crewe's statement will naturally be the most important question for consideration, the personnel of the Public Service Commission will not escape notice.........We venture to hope that the meeting will resolve upon asking Lord Crewe to make an effective addition to the Commission, if it is not to be the laughing-stock of the country, and thus give an effective lead to other provinces which in this matter still remain "benighted".

(k) General.

24. The Swadesamitran, of the 1st August, makes the following remarks about the constitution of the Public Service Commission, as announced by Mr. Montague, during the debate on the budget in the House of Commons:--There is nothing to be said against the present constitution of the Commission. Among the members, the only gentleman, about whom we do not know much, is Mr. Lawrence Fisher. All the other members are, ~~for~~ the appointment of the Hon'ble Mr. Chaubal, Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Justice Abdul Rahim as the representatives of the Indians will give universal satisfaction. Sir Murray Hammick and Mr. Sly represent the Civil Service and both of them are known to be well disposed towards the advancement of the Indians. Among the Members of the House of Commons, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Lord Ronaldshay have been chosen. Much need not be said about the former, as he is known to be a staunch friend of the Indians. The latter may also be said to be favourable to the Indians, as he is constantly putting questions about India in the House of Commons. Mr. Valentine Chirol, the special correspondent of the London Times, had come to India during the viceroyalty of Lord Minto and written several letters regarding the unrest which existed in India at that time. It is said that he is

The constitution of the Public Service Commission.

a right we know men who will be glad to do justice to the Indians. J.

not quite satisfied with the present condition of the Indian Civil Service. He has expressed the opinion that the present division of the public service into the Imperial and the Provincial services will not conduce to the existence of friendly relations between the Indians and Englishmen.

On the same subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 5th August, observes:--The London Times takes exception to the appointment of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald as a member of the Public Service Commission on the ground that he has made some remarks against the Indian Civil Service. If Mr. Macdonald is to be removed, because he has expressed himself against the Civil Service in India, should not those, who are in favour of that service, also be removed. Sir Murray Hammick and Mr. Sly are themselves members of that service and Lord Ronaldshay, being a Conservative, will favour that service. What is the harm in Mr. Ramsay Macdonald being one in the Commission against so many who will support the Civil Service? All the members of the Commission will sing the praise of the Civil Service, consisting of officers whose capability and sense of duty are unequalled. Even Mr. Macdonald will not allow his individual opinion to operate against the evidence adduced before the Commission.

From a telegram received this morning, we learn that Sir John Hewett has been appointed as one, whom the Public Service Commission should consult. He will simply give advice, but will have no hand in the drafting of the final report. He has evidently been appointed on the ground that there are not many in the Commission, who support the Civil Service. It would have been better if he had been appointed as a member of the Commission. In the Public Service Commission of 1886, there were 16 members, and the Indian element was stronger in it than in the present Commission. As the number of members in this Commission is only 12, it can be made 16 by the addition of new members.

26. The Andhraprakasika, of the 7th August, says that the conduct of some of the Emigration Agents is most reprehensible.

Emigration Agents.

While emigration is in itself a great evil, it is very much to be regretted, it says, that these agents hold out false hopes to young boys who are minors, cause them to speak a few lies, send them to foreign countries and subject them to various hardships. Two young boys, aged 15 and 16 respectively, were thus sent away to Penang, without the knowledge of their parents, from Calicut. Induced by false hopes, they went there only to find that they were required to work with crowbars and spades. One of them fell ill and is reported to have died. Only God must know, says the paper, how many families have been rendered miserable by their boys having been separated from their kith and kin. A similar case happened in Vellore recently in which an only son was cruelly separated from the mother and sent away along with another boy whom she was bringing up, which caused her immense misery. She submitted reports and petitions to the Protector of Emigrants in vain. The paper prays that Government will interfere in the matter and stop the iniquities of the Emigration Agents.

30. A paragraph in the Manorama, of the 2nd August, notices a case filed in the Court of the District Magistrate of Poornea in which a European,

Necessity of legislation on the question of saluting Europeans.

Williams by name, stands charged with assaulting severely a boy named Dwaraka for not saluting him when he met him on the road. Some Europeans take umbrage when saluted while others glare up when not saluted. Legislation on this question seems to have become necessary. The case of Mr. Jackson of Chingleput is too recent to have been forgotten.

35. The Swadesamitran, of the 1st August, writes:- There is a great difference between the British statesmen of

India and the British statesmen of the present day.

olden days and those of the present day, as far as India is concerned. Statesmen of the stamp of Lord Macaulay, Mr. Bright and Sir Charles Trevelyan were of opinion that, if India were a free and opulent country, it would be beneficial to England in the matter of her trade. But the statesmen of the present day want India to be worse than the British colonies and resent the statement of Lord Hardinge that in course of time the provincial Governments in India will have to be given greater latitude in the management of their affairs. The statement of Lord Crewe in the House of Lords does not befit his responsible position. He admitted that the Indians getting the higher appointments under the Government of India and their acquiring a larger share in the administration of the country would not have a harmful effect upon the British rule. But at the same time he said that India could not aspire to have swaraj on the colonial lines. We do not understand this. We entirely agree with Lord Courney, who observed that the future of India was a mystery, which could not be successfully unravelled now. Whatever may be the interpretation put upon the third paragraph of Lord Hardinge's despatch by others, there is no difference of opinion among the Indians regarding its meaning.

36. In publishing the proceedings of a public meeting held recently in Bombay to memorialise the Government of India on the cruel hardships to which the Indians were subjected in the colonies, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd August, says:- The memorial submitted by the citizens of Bombay in this behalf should be taken to be one submitted by the whole of India, as opinion is unanimous throughout India that something should be done to prevent this. The Government of India cannot have any doubt about the feelings of the Indians in this matter, after what has been expressed on this subject by the Indian Members of the Imperial Legislative Council and after what is now clearly stated in this memorial of the citizens of Bombay.

Indians in the colonies.

If the Government of India declines to do away with a system, which is considered by the whole of the Indian community to be productive of serious harmful results to their countrymen abroad, it will be flouting the unanimous opinion of the people on this subject.

The statement of Lord Crewe in the House of Lords.

37. The United Church Herald, for August, comments as follows, in English, upon the recent statement of Lord Crewe in the House of Lords regarding the possibility of India becoming a self-governing colony:--"While we are not prepared to accept the pessimistic view of the Secretary of State, we do not think that the people of India need to consider more the importance of qualifying themselves for this enjoyment than for the enjoyment itself. Before they can exercise this power wisely, they must abate their caste and other forms of individualism and selfishness and grow into a broad public spirit and into a national sense and consciousness. Then nothing will stand in the way of India's entering into her inheritance. We pray for India to-day that she may speedily be emancipated from the narrowness of the past and enter into the joy and consciousness of a full social, altruistic obligation for all her people. That will gain for India a sure entrance into all political rights".

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 17th AUGUST 1912.

No. 34 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES

II. Home Administration

(k) General.

The Public Service Commission.

8. The West Coast Spectator, of the 10th August, remarks:- "The composition of the Public Service Commission has caused widespread discontent in this country. No wonder, for we find that gentlemen whose qualification is that either they know nothing about India or know something about it as to misunderstand her politics and people predominate. Lord Islington is an ignoramus, Lord Ronaldshay was an Aide-de-Camp to Lord Curzon for a short time, and Sir V. Chirol knows India, no doubt, but has seen her through official spectacles. The Indians, for whose benefit the Commission has been inaugurated, are told to be content with three representatives! We are glad that our political associations have taken up the matter and are making representations to the Secretary of State".

Writing on this subject, the South Indian Mail, of the 12th August, observes:-"The question whether the Royal Commission would prove a boon to educated Indians and to the country at large mainly depends upon the composition of the Commission. The Commission, as at present constituted, has already created a widespread dissatisfaction and discontent. Not only the educated Indians are poorly represented but men with pet prejudices are selected in the Commission.......With such a scanty representation of Indian claims in the Commission

we have no reason to expect any very great reform excepting perhaps an elaborate and learned dissenting minute by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. We shall, however, wait and see. But we cannot help remarking that, considering the huge expenditure on the Royal Commission, the Government of India whose good-will alone we should strive to achieve and who is the agency that will largely mould the political destinies of India, might well be left to consider the question of larger employment of Indians into the administrarion of the country".

The Western Star, of the 15th August, says:--"We find some of our Indian contemporaries expressing strong dis-approval, being of the opinion that the interests of the domiciled communities in connection with the public opportunely defended and pressed, receive even less consideration in the future. We fail to see, however, why, when the claims of the domiciled communities to representation in the Commission have been conceded, the equally undeniable claims of the very much larger and no less deserving and loyal Indian Christian commumities should have been apparently lost sight of. If the absence of an Indian Christian representative means, that it is held, that Indian Christians could be quite as well represented by non-Christian Indians, all we can say is that the day has not come when, in matters of this sort, it will suffice to take only the question of race into account. Indian Christians are quite as entitled as Muhammadans, Hindus or domiciled Anglo-Indians to have their own spokesman, if not more than one, in the Commission.' As matters stand at present, it is exceedingly doubtful if the peculiar position of the numerically large Indian Christian section of the population will be brought anywhere as fully as it should be before the Commission..........Bearing in mind the good old adage that it is only the child who cries that receives a sufficient supply of milk, the Indian Christian communities ought, we think, to lose no time in

strongly, yet respectfully, urging on the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India their strong and undeniable claims to be specially represented on the Commission. The opportunity is one that will not recur in a hurry and the utmost should consequently be made of it".

Referring to that portion of the speech of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in the House of Commons during the Indian Budget debate, in which he referred to the Anglo-Indian official as "Sunbaked", the Madras Standard, of the 17th August, remarks:-- "It was to this portion of the speech that the 'Imperialist', writing to the Times (London), referred to when protesting against Mr. MacDonald's appointment to the Public Service Commission. 'Are we to understand', says the indignant 'Imperialist'. 'that His Majesty's Government will regard Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as a proper person to hold a place upon the Indian Service Commission?' Why not, unless we import into his speech a meaning never intended by him and not warranted. When Mr. Ramsay MacDonald refers to the vices of both worlds, it is clear he refers to those mental attitudes which lift up and liberalise an administration. India is the Anglo-Indian's 'land of regrets'. Here he retires into his own shell and is never in touch with the emotions, thoughts and aspirations that sway the masses over whom he rules. Nor is he in touch with the free, healthy and unofficial atmosphere of England, which would act as a corrective to his official life in India. Hence, lacks the broad and sympathetic outlook which is essential to any administrator in this country at the present moment, and any change in a system, which he has identified with himself, is repugnant to him. Instead of thinking that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has hurled any unmerited obloguy on these people, we admire, his powers of shrewd observation which have enabled him to get a true insight into existing condition, albeit he was only one of the 'week-end visitors' of India".

Lord Crewe and self-government for India.

9. In a leader under the heading "Lord Crewe explains himself" the Madras Standard, of the

17th August writes:--"Today's mail papers bring the full text of Lord Crewe's explanation before the Lords. We desire to draw attention to it only to show that there is a true ring of donviction about it and that it does not appear to have been made because of party exigencies as was suggested by Dr. Nair at the recent public meeting.........The Nation commenting upon the explanation of Lord Crewe allows itself to write that 'the effect of this forecast will be that the younger generation in India will read this speech to mean that the door has been closed on their national development. The beneficent promise of the Delhi despatch has been withdrawn, and we fear that the extremist movement will draw enormous profit from an utterly superfluous and unimaginative speech'. Our contemporary is misinformed about the strength of the extremist movement, for there is none left in India, but that the speech will have a damaging effect upon the trust and confidence reposed in the integrity of British statesmen and their solemn words, there can be no doubt. After the emphatic manner in which the statement in the despatch is repudiated, nobody is going to attach any value to the serious words of British statesmen till they are actually realised. The generosity of the moment is rebuked with vehemence in the next. But there is something in the speech to which we may turn with some hope and that is Lord Crewe's view about the position occupied by Indians in the services".

VI. Miscellaneous

11. The following appears in the West Coast Spectator of the 10th August:--"It is very gratifying to find that the London Muslim League has discovered that it is useless to carry on a militant propaganda. The Committee met in London the other day to present the annual report extracts from which have been wired out to this country by Reuter. They have realised that the time has come for the creation of an entente cordiale between Hindus and Mussalmans in the interests of India. Nobody has done more towards creating

The All-India Muslim League.

a feeling of suspicion in the Hindus' mind than the London Muslim League; and the dawning of wisdom is as gratifying as it is satisfactory.........So far as the Hindus are concerned, they are perfectly willing to extend the right hand of fellowship to their Mussalman brethren. In fact, they have never acted against the interests of the latter. The Indian National Congress has been standing not only for the Hindus, but for the Mussalmans as well. The recent action of the Bombay Congress Committee in recommending His Highness the Aga Khan for the Congress presidentship indicates that Congressmen are perfectly willing to join forces with the Muslim League. The report again suggests avoiding the sacrifice of kine by Mussalmans out of regard for Hindu sentiment, and the Hindus on their part abandoning the proscription and disparagement of the Urdu language and 'allowing the Muhammadans to peacefully to enjoy the constitutional privileges accorded to them and the participation on equal terms of the benefits of British rule'. We cannot understand what the Muslim League means by the statement we have put under quotation marks. The Hindus have never prevented the Mussalmans or any other community from enjoying the constitutional privileges and the blessings of British rule. The charge is as baseless as it is unfortunate and could very well have been avoided. The Hindus feel that they have not been very well treated in the matter of these privileges, and this does not certainly mean they want to take the privileges from the Mussalmans. On the whole, we welcome the move of the Muslim League and have no doubt that the Hindus will cheerfully respond to the appeal".

12. The Madras Standard, of the 13th August, writes:- "The public meeting held yesterday at the Victoria Public Hall to consider Lord Crewe's interpretation of the despatch of the Government of India and the constitution of the Public Service Commission was by all accounts a brilliant success.

The Madras Public Meeting.

It was attended by most of the leading men in the city and the gathering was thoroughly representative of the varied interests and diverse classes of Madras.......We sincerely hope and trust that the significance of the demonstration will not be lost upon the Government and that there will be no attempt anywhere to minimise the current of public opinion of which it was the expression. The feeling is deep and abiding in the country that in explaining away the despatch of the Government of India, Lord Crewe has given a blow to our hopes and aspirations, which is all the more cruel in that it was given expression to by a Liberal Secretary of State for India....... There are some among ourselves who pretend not to attach too much value to Lord Crewe's lucubrations. One such was present even yesterday. Dr. T.M. Nair who spoke on the resolution attempted a feeble apology for Lord Crewe and said that his words ought not to be taken seriously in India as it was not even in England..........Dr. Nair also seemed to believe that it did not matter so far as the Liberals were concerned as to what Lord Crewe or anybody said and that when the next instalment of reform fell due, Liberalism would rise equal to the occasion. But that is ignoring the fact that the ideal which a statesman keeps before him has its due effect on the enunciation of his policy from day to day. If Lord Crewe was not serious, would it be possible to believe that the Public Service Commission would be such a farce that it is? If he believed that we are fit to take our place in the scale of nations that conviction would have coloured all his actions and he would have given us a Commission truly representative of British Liberalism. It is because Lord Crewe thinks that our ambition should be only to get a few more berths in the services, and not to distinguish ourselves as statesmen or soldiers--he ridiculed the idea of Indians cherishing the idea of becoming a Prime Minister or Commander-in-chief -- that the constitution of the Commission is what it is. We believe that the ideals of statesmen affect every detail of the daily administration of the country and that is why we believe

that public feeling should be roused even to a greater extent than it has been and should express itself in unmistakable terms, from one end of the country to the other".

Writing on this subject the Indian Patriot, of the 13th August says:- "The public meeting yesterday passed a resolution dissenting from Lord Crewe's interpretation of the third paragraph of the Government of India's despatch and adhering to the Congress ideal of self-government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing colonies. The Congress ideal has nothing to do with the despatch which spoke of provincial autonomy. But the justification for raising it at yesterday's meeting was furnished by Lord Crewe himself who was led to utilise the occasion for explaining the despatch to condemn the Congress ideal. The Congress ideal had never come within to cognisance of the Government any more than the pan-Islamic ideal of the Muslim League. The Government was not called upon to pronounce itself on that question. Yet Lord Crewe, prompted to it by the opposition, described colonial self-government as an unattainable aim for India, because Indians differed in race, creed and colour from the British. He stamped Indians with a racial degradation in respect of political rights and privileges. ....Lord Crewe seemd to fix for ever the limit beyond which Indians could not rise within the British Empire. Here, indeed unconsciously, he seemed to lend encouragement to those extremists in Indian politics who would have nothing short of perfect independence of England and the Empire and who, as Mr. Srinivasa Sastri explained yesterday, really forced the Congress to adopt the goal which Lord Crewe has described as unattainable and impossible..........In spite of all that he has said, the despatch remains without losing any of its force. It is as much a deliberate expression of policy as the Queen's Proclamation is. In regard to both there have been disputes. The dispute about the Proclamation has been finally settled. The dispute about the despatch also will be similarly settled".

The West Coast Reformer, of the 15th August, remarks:- "Madras has shaken off its lethargy and has apparently decided, to be abreast of the more advanced Province of Bengal. It is to be hoped that the example of the Metropolis will be followed by the towns in the districts. An awakening of the sense of responsibility among the people is a good sign of the times. Lord Crewe's curious interpretation of the historic despatch of the Government of India, in which the goal of British rule in India was definitely expressed, is a misinterpretation calculated to injure the interests of the Indian nation. It was therefore quite necessary for the Indian public to protest against it in an emphatic and unmistakaable manner...........It has been a wonder how Lord Crewe so seriously twisted and tortured a most plainly-worded statement into quite a diametrically-opposed meaning. It is equally a wonder that some Indian leaders attempted to console themselves by saying that Lord Crewe wanted only to deceive the hostile house by a polite repudiation. But the subject has passed its stage of such conjectures and the continuous and ominous echo from the noble Marquis has made it clear that they are bent upon pricking the bubble of provincial autonomy contained in the despatch".

I. Foreign Politics

14. In a long article on this subject the Mysore Star, of the 12th August, writes:--Just as the pariahs are looked down upon by the higher castes in India, even so, only with ten times as much contempt, are the Indians in South Africa treated by their co-settlers, the Whites. The persecution and the disgrace to which the Indians, who have been born and bred up there and have settled there for so long a time, are being subjected by the comparatively recent settlers, the Whites, are beyond description. Indian boys cannot attend the same school as Europeans do; nor can the Indians go by the same tram-cars as the Europeans. Neither have they

Indians in South Africa.

the right of frequenting the roads which are used by the Whites, nor of living in the same locality as they do. The subjects of any European power, on the other hand, can go and settle in any country in the world and amass wealth by following any profession they choose. And should any nation dare to put any obstacles in the way of the Whites, it at once calls down a storm of bullets about their heads. Is it ~~not~~ thrown themselves on the protection of the British and are the privileged subjects of their world-wide empire should be permitted to suffer such atrocities in other lands? It is nothing but the pride of wealth and selfishness that, in this age of enlightenment, prompt the British, who are at once the models of statesmanship and the confirmed friends of peace, to stoop to such behaviour, which is not only reprehensible in itself, but is in direct opposition to the noble teaching of Christ,--"Look upon thy neighbour as thyself"; and this in spite of the fact that these sufferers' mother-country is the brightest jewel in the British crown. If Indians were so treated in any foreign country, it would not have been so scandalous; but that they, in spite of their well-known loyalty, should be suffering such persecution, and that in a country which forms part of the same empire as theirs and whose subject ought to be regarded as being on an equal footing with themselves is simply a disgrace,--but a disgrace which attaches more to their protectors, the British Government, than themselves. To see the policy of the British, even as an imperial power, thus tainted by the colour prejudice, one is tempted to exclaim, "What is this an inevitable decree of fate? And is it not possible for mortal man to escape it? ".

not a matter of surprise that the Indians who are the conquered people that have

Yet, confident of the ultimate triumph of truth and justice, and determined not to live a life of insults and humiliation which flesh and blood cannot stand, Mr. Gandhi and other Indian leaders are bravely struggling, amidst countless difficulties, to defend those liberties which constitute the natural right of every man. Even Lords Minto and Hardinge, the representatives of His Imperial Majesty in India, find this

persecution of the Indians past bearing, and the Secretary of State for India too has evinced an anxiety to protect the rights of the Indians in South Africa; but all to no purpose. For the Boers do not like to be dictated to by the British Government, nor have these the generosity to protect the Blacks by placing restrictions on the Whites.

Meanshile, a new Bill has been brought in by the present Minister of the British South Africa. It is to the effect that every Indian coming to South Africa should have a knowledge of English, that he should be subjected to an examination in English as soon as he sets foot on African soil and that, if he does not pass the test, he should be turned back forthwith. The object of this proposed legislation is not far to seek. The Indians who go there as labourers, traders or agriculturists do not of course know English, and if a knowledge of that language on their part is made a necessary condition of their immigration, it will evidently put an effective stop to their influx. When the Bill came up for discussion before the Parliament, Mr. Gandhi and the other Indian leaders said they had no objection to it, if it was applicable to the other white races equally with the Indians; but the suggestion did not fall in with the views of the Parliament. When the Whites, unable to extripate the Indians by actual strangulation, are determined to wipe them out by means of cruel weapons like these, is it possible that they would listen to reason?

How could Indians hear of the inhuman treatment that is meted out to their brethren in South Africa ny the Whites and bear it quietly? Yet, what more could they do to relieve their distress than be loud in their protests against this persecution of their countrymen and keep sending them all the help that lies in their power? With this object there was recently held a public meeting in Bombay under the presidency of Sir Jemshetji Jeejeebhoy, at which the inhabitants of that city placed on record their strong condemnation of the injustice that is done to their countrymen both in

South Africa and Canada.

It cannot be contended, even by a European, that such cruel treatment meted out to the Indians in the Transvaal is justifiable. The responsibility of redressing these wrongs of theirs rests upon the British Government. Until this this is done, there will remain on them the stain of having failed in their duty to a subject race.

(K) General.

24. The Swadesamitran, of the 8th August, says:- Mr, Asquith stated in the House of Commons yesterday that the appointment of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald to the Public Service Commission would not be reconsidered and that he would be as impartial in conducting the enquiry as the other members of the Commission. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald himself has given a long explanation in reply to the attack upon him by the London Times. So much fuss is made in England about his appointment to the Commission, merely because he belongs to the Labour Party and sympathises with the Indians. There is no talk at all about the nature of the other members of the Commission.

The Public Service Commission.

Leaving this alone, we have to repeat that the constitution of the Commission has not given satisfaction to the Indians. Except Mr. Gokhale, there is no one in it to express the opinions of the Congress. Though Mr. Chaubal is a Hindu and may not act against the opinion of the Congress, he has not taken any part in it till now. There are several prominent Congressmen who are better than Mr. Chaubal. Messrs. Gokhale and Chaubal belong to Bombay. There should be at least three on the Commission to represent the Congressmen of Southern and Northern India. Even the Englishmen in India are not satisfied with the present constitution of the Commission. It is stated that there should be at least one additional member to represent the Indian Civil Service.

A member may also be appointed to represent the officials of the Educational, Police, Engineering and other departments. The enquiry to be ever held. The aim of the Commission is to remove a serious grievance of the Indians. Already, the Morning Post of London has warned the English officials, that the existing number of these officials should not therefore be reduced and that the appointment of a larger number of Indians would weaken the British rule. We need not say that this is an entirely foolish view. Statesmen of the highest rank have admitted that the Indians should be gradually given a larger share in the administration of their country. If the number of appointments held by Europeans is not to be reduced and that held by Indians is not to be increased, we do not know with what other object this Commission was brought into existence.

The re-nomination of Mr. Govindaraghava Aiyar to the Legislative Council.

26. The Lokopakari, of the 12th August, makes the following remarks upon the re-nomination of Mr. L.A. Govindaraghava Aiyar to the Legislative Council:-

Mr. Govindaraghava Aiyar was a non-official member of the Legislative Council before he was appointed Government Pleader and he therefore resigned his seat in the Council as soon as he took up his appointment. Instead of nominating another non-official member in his place, the present Government has re-nominated him to the Council. Such nominations are not favourable to the principle of self-government. During Lord Carmichael's time, the number of non-official members in the Council was made to exceed that of the official members by one, by a non-official being nominated in the place of an official who had resigned. But the present nomination has increased the number of official members by one. This was the state of affairs in Sir Authur Lawley's time. How can Sir Murray Hammick be expected to act in any other way than in the footsteps of his master? It is not necessary that both the

27. Referring to the question put in the House of Lords as to

SWARAJ: why the Secretary of State has put a new interpretation on the despatch of the Government of India regarding self-government for India on colonial lines, and to the reply of Lord Crewe who stated that it will be in the best interests of the Indians to be directly governed by the British Sovereign for all time to come, the Desamata, of the 7th August, says that ever since the inception of British Government in India nobody has caused so much despair to the Indian population as the present Secretary of State. It is very much to be regretted that he has overridden all the pledges of the Sovereigns and expressed flatly that it is a illusion on the part of the Indians to expect swaraj at any time. Although this is the view of Lord Crewe and although he could not look farther into the future, it will be well, says the paper, to know that it is God who wields the destinies of the 30 crores of the Indian population and determines their weal or woe.

36. The Swadesamitran, of 10th August, writes:- We are struck

[A notice by an emigration agent.] with horror at a notice issued by an emigration agent in Natal that a woman would not be allowed to disembark in Natal to live with her husband, who was already there, unless she produced before him a certificate from a high European Magistrate that she was the wedded wife of her husband, a records containing her thumb impression, papers giving details about the enquiry conducted by the Magistrate and some other documents, and he was satisfied with them. Marriages in India are not perfommed in this manner on which this emigration agent thinks they are . The curious practice of a man and a woman marrying in the presence of a European Magistrate giving their thumb impression and intimating the fact of the marriage to the Police does not exist here. It cannot be that this agent does not know how Hindu marriages

are performed. Evidently he has issued this notice with the idea of teasing the Indians. This is merely an attempt to prevent a wife from joining her husband. Hindu women will deem it an indignity to do what is laid down in this notice. We do not know what Lord Emmot, who recently observed that a free Colonial Government should not be constantly dinned with questions, will have to say about this notice. We will only point out that this notice will have the effect of hurting the already-wounded feelings of the Indians.

Union between Hindus and Muhammadans.

37. In advocating the Union of Hindus and Muhammadans in the matter of acquiring political rights from Government, the Lokopakari, of the 12th August, observes:--The Congress was brought into existence only to facilitate the Hindus and Muhammadans joinging together for representing their grievances to the Government and getting them redressed. But the Muhammadans kept aloof and demanded separate political rights from Government. The Hindus began to complain that the authorities would not be acting impartially if they acceded to the request of the Muhammadans. Under these circumstances, either party found it difficult to obtain any privileges from Government. If our Muhammadan brethren will hereafter at least realise the value of union and co-operate with the Hindus in making representations to Government regarding the grievances of either community, the Government will begin to attach some value to our prayers and be prepared to meet our demands. Now the authorities seem to be acting on the principle of "Divide and rule" and therefore we should thwart their stratagem by adopting the principle of union.

The Congress and the Muhammadans.

39. The Sasilekha, of the 9th August, has a leader on the attitude of the Muhammadans towards the Indian National Congress and says that although they have refrained from joining it in

spite of the endeavours of such great Muhammadan gentlemen as Mr. Buddrudin Tyabji to prevail on them to sympathise with the Congress movement, yet they have been reaping its benefits equally with the other classes. They have, however, at this distant date started an All-India Muhammadan League, whose aspirations are almost identical with those of the Congress. The paper feels highly gratified to learn that the members of the League are trying to join the Congress and co-operate with the Hindus. The Congress Committee have urged the desirability of appointing His Highness the Aga Khan as President of the Congress this year. The gentleman is the head of many of the Muhammadans, and it remains to be seen, says the paper, how far his appointment as Congress President will influence the community to which he belongs to change their present unsympathetic attitude towards the Congress.

Royal Commission on Indian Public Service.

40. Referring to the composition of the Royal Commission on Indian Public Service, the Desamata, of the 7th August, entertains great misgivings as to whether any good will result from its appointment. Lord Islington, the President, is a Conservative, and as such cannot be expected to have any sympathy with the people. Mr. Ronaldshay, a member of the Commission, lacks experience in these matters. Mr. Chirol, another member, caused the Indians great pain of mind by his writings to the Times during the days of the Indian unrest. The attitude of some of the other European members has been one of dis-regard for the Indians in the past. A few other European members are officials, says the paper. Among Indian members it is only the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale who can be expected to be bold enough to give an independent opinion, for he really loves the people. Justice Abdul Rahim, who was appointed a member of the Commission, on behalf of the Muhammadans, is a gentleman of good character and has an eye on justice, and as such may be expected to give an independent opinion, says the paper. But he as well as the

Hon'ble Mr. B. Chaubal of the Bombay Executive Council are officials, and it remains to be seen how far they will be independent. While Mr. Madge has been appointed a member of to represent European interests, it is most regrettable, says the paper, that Bengal which contains five crores of inhabitants has not been represented on the Commission. The Madras Presidency also is unrepresented, and as there are so few members on the Commission who may work on behalf of the people, the paper is at a loss to know for whose benefit the Commission was appointed.

A public meeting in Madras.

44. In commenting on the meeting of the Madras public in the Victoria Public Hall to protest against the new interpretation put upon the despatch of the Government of India by Lord Crewe and also on the composition of the Royal Commission on Indian Public Service, the Andhraprakasika, of the 14th August, says that if, as time goes on, the Indians make considerable progress and prove to the rulers that they deserve greater powers of independence, the pronouncements of such gentlemen as Lord Crewe will not stand in the way of their getting them. It must, therefore, be their duty to unite together and make constitutional representations to the authorities frequently and convince them of their rights and abilities. The composition of the Royal Commission on Public Service is objected to, says the paper, not only by the Indians but also by Europeans. In view of the object of the Commission, there ought to be a greater number of Indians on it. The number of Indian Civil Servants also, says the paper, is small. A representative Indian or a European of vast Indian experience ought to have been appointed as President. The paper hopes that it is now not too late to amend the constitution of the Commission, and prays that the authorities will set themselves to do so as early as possible.

The Indian Hindus and Muhammadans.

45. In the course of an article under this heading, the Sadhvi, of the 16th August, observes:--"There is more esprit de corps

among the ~~Hindus~~ Muhammadans of India than among the Hindus. They are the followers on one religion. They speak one language. They have one alphabet. They have an All-India Muhammadan League. They have ~~xxxxalphx~~ branches of this league all over India. They have ardent missionaries to carry their propaganda from one end of India to another. They have a spirit of unanimity They have, beyond the limits of India, a number of Muhammadan kingdoms whose sympathies they always command. It is this that ensures to the Muhammadan community the respect and favour of the Government of India. What is there among the Hindus beyond loyalty to entitle them to the consideration of the British Government? The whole of the Hindu community is torn up into upwards of four thousand castes and sub-castes, sects and sub-sects though it is professed that they are divided into four castes. The wonder is how a people divided into so many antagonistic camps should still show signs of life......."

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 24TH AUGUST 1912.

No. 35 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration

(b) Courts.

The Midnapoor appeal case.

2. Referring to the judgment in this case, the Hindu, of the 19th August, remarks:- "Mr. Justice Woodroffe delivered the judgment of himself and Mr. Justice Coxe dismissing the plaintiff's suit. His judgment may be correct in law and on the facts, but it reads like a long harangue of a prosecuting attorney or counsel in a case in which Mr. Justice Fletcher, Mr. Dutt and the plaintiff are the accused. We should have expected a more restrained and dignified judgment in a case of such importance. The judgment of Mr. Justice Chatterjee is in refreshing contrast to that of his learned colleagues.........It would be seen from the findings, upon what a slender thread the liberty of individuals hangs in this country, when the panic of sedition seizes responsible officials".

Mr. Justice Fletcher and Anglo-Indian journalism.

3. The following appears in the Indian Patriot of the 23rd August:-"Except Sir Lawrence Jenkins, no Judge of any High Court in India is more generally known or respected than Mr. Justice Fletcher who is to-day the target of attack by a section of the Anglo-Indian press. Between the irresponsible utterance of a press that demonstrated, during the Delhi change, the depths to which it can sink and the tone of Mr. Justice Woodroffe's criticism of Mr. Justice Fletcher, strangely enough, there is not much difference. The discerning public therefore will be more

concerned with this unusual display of acrimonious difference between Judge and Judge than with the dogs of a section of the press that bark at the moon..........The Indian public have been treated to violently wonderful scenes for some time past, which cannot be explained except by the desire of this section of the press to see India ruined, the fabric of order and Government that British statesmanship has reared up, pulled down, the clear light of coming peace and contentment and happiness of the people dimmed by the darkness of confusion and disorder ....No institution has done more to uphold British prestige and greatness in popular eyes, in the face of the deliberate and rapid demolition of them by an alarmed executive, at the time than the Calcutta High Court. No Judge of the Calcutta High Court did more to uphold the waning prestige of British justice in Bengal than Mr. Justice Fletcher........ Looking back on the sickening scenes of house searches, arrests, bomb discoveries, political dacoities etc which polluted the civilisation of the century and the world one figure, that of Mr. Justice Fletcher, is seen stretching out his magic hand and whispering peace and confidence. He stemmed the gushing tide of executive consternation and high-handedness. He held the erring minion of executive power in a grip that was powerful enough to set up common sense once more where alarm had swept it away......... The violence of Anglo-Indian journalism against High Courts is yet another instance, as the violence against the Government of India was one that the people and the Government are in one camp and, together, they will be strong enough for any foe".

(k) General

11. In an article under this heading by "Scrutator," the Wednesday Review, of the 14th August, writes:- "We regret that there is in India a feeling of considerable disappointment at the recent acts and utterances of Lord Crewe, and there is growing a feeling of revulsion against him. The public meeting that was held on Monday last under the auspices of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee, the Hon'ble Mr. T.V. Seshagiri

Lord Crewe and the Indian public.

Aiyar presiding, may be said to be the first indication of popular disapprobation of his policy, and we are not sure if it will not be followed by many others in other parts of the country. It is unfortunate that his Lordship should be misunderstood not only by the Anglo-Indian community, but also by the people of India.........So far as the Indian people are concerned, we are afraid that public dissatisfaction is more widespread and more real. There does not appear to be any reason why this public feeling should have been raised against him or whether we could not be more charitable to him in judging of his recent policy.........Lord Crewe's regime has been comparatively quiet and uneventful. The misunderstanding then is due only to two causes, the repudiation of paragraph 3 of the Government of India's despatch and the constitution of the Public Service Commission. With regard to the first, we do not want to apologise for Lord Crewe, but we may say at once that he has only misunderstood public opinion in India. He seems to believe that the reference to provincial autonomy was mistaken as Swaraj. It is very much to be wished that somebody had assured his Lordship that that was not the case. Nobody in India believed that Provincial autonomy was Swaraj: between the two a wide gulf exists. It would and could only mean the greater independence of the provinces from the control of the Government of India. It would be a sort of family arrangement between the Provincial and Imperial Governments, by which the latter would free the former from rigid control, it has been exercising. It would come to Provincial Swaraj only when the provincial legislatures obtain supreme control over the executive. Is it not far off yet? And when there cannot be even Provincial Swaraj, it would be absurd to speak of Imperial Swaraj. Nobody therefore in India mistook the despatch into conferring Swaraj. But Lord Crewe misunderstood

and in his anxiety emphasised what Lord Morley himself had stated about India's future. We may take it that radical programme is opposed to self-government in India..........So far as the constitution of the Public Service Commission is concerned, we have to express our disappointment. But Lord Crewe has acted on a principle. He has appointed a Liberal Chairman--Lord Islington seems to be a recent recruit to Liberalism--and has selected one from the Opposition and one from the Labour Party, one reputed journalist, one from the India Office, two from the service, three from Indians and an Educationist. He had apparently intended to make it a representative one, only in the end it has failed of its purpose..........We very much wish that the Provincial Congress Committee had seen its way to have dropped the resolution on his Lordship's view on the question of provincial autonomy, or held a separate meeting for it and not associated the resolution on the Public Service Commission with the other. While Lord Crewe's views on autonomy are not likely to be of practical importance, the constitution of the Public Service Commission is bound to be one of supreme value and a representation on the latter would have far more value than when coupled with one on the former. We can afford to ignore the one and not the other. We hope that other parts of the country will not make the same tactical mistake but will insist upon the Commission being more representative".

12. The West Coast Spectator, of the 17th August, writes as follows:- "The representations made to the Secretary of State by the Congress Committees and public meetings on the constitution of the Public Service Commission are weighty and must, therefore, appeal with great force to Lord Crewe. There is widespread discontent in Hindu India. The feeling is uppermost in the Hindu's mind that his interests have practically been ignored, that it is ~~official~~ representative..........Another complaint is that the National Congress has practically been ignored. It is the National

The Public Service Commission.

...the ungenerous of Lord Crewe ... have given the great Community only one non-official representative

Congress that has been agitating for a Commission of the kind for a long time. In the last Commission it was thought advisable to appoint four members to represent Congress views. The Mussalmans have, however, scored heavily. All the European members, especially Sir Theodore Morrison and Lord Ronaldshay, are staunch supporters of the Muslim League and its policy. There is also Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim. Even the small Eurasian community has been given a member in the person of Mr. Madge. In the face of these circumstances, are not the Hindus amply justified in protesting against the unfair treatment meted out to them? The Government itself has introduced the racial question in the matter of the employment of Indians in the public service. The new policy has been proclaimed from many a house-top; and it is now regarded that merit alone is not a passport to the public service. That being the case, we again assert, the Hindus are perfectly within their rights when they demand that they must have full and adequate representation in the Commission. The Hindu-Mussalman question is keenly exercising the public mind in the Punjab, where the Hindu's grievance is that in the matter of public appointments Mussalmans are given the preference. This is a fact well known to the Government; it was therefore but right and proper that a Hindu should have been appointed from the Punjab to represent the Hindu point of view...........If there is no change in the personnel, and with the views, preconceived and prejudiced, of Lord Ronaldshay and Sir Valentine Chirol, the recommendations of the majority are bound to be reactionary and not calculated to satisfy the people. ....The complaint of the Indian is that while he is given entrance into the subordinate departments ungrudgingly, the higher offices are set apart exclusively for the foreigner. It is argued that Englishmen conquered India and therefore must be given free scope to make their 'pile' in this country. The nobler aspect of the question is quietly ignored. The English did not conquer India merely for the sake of conquest. The desire of the English nation is that its relationship with the people of India should not be that of conquerors to conquered, of master to servant. The relationship must be one of manly comradeship. There

* to tell us that none but Europeans can enter the higher branches of the public service, we refuse

must be no colour bar........It is rather too late in the day* ~~to service~~. We refuse to listen to worn-out platitudes and the exploded theory of the superiority of the European to the Asiatic. Englishmen must meet the situation they themselves have created with candour and in a spirit of comradeship".

Writing on this subject, the Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 18th August, remarks:- "The deeper you think about the composition of the Public Service Commission the more profound is your conviction that it is most unsatisfactory. It would be interesting to know who is responsible for the list. Of the twelve members of the Commission only three are Indians, and of these three again only one is a non-official Indian. The Commission has been appointed in response to Indian public opinion, and yet Indian points of view are exceedingly meagrely represented on it. Not only is this the case but a proportionately large number of Europeans decidedly opposed to Indian aspirations has found a place on it. Is there any room for doubt that the conclusions of this Commission will be viwed with dissatisfaction throughout the length and breath of India? Is it wise and statesman like that the object for which it has been appointed should at the very start be allowed to the misunderstood? The enlightened classes in India do not expect anything of a progressive nature from this Commission. If, however, the Secretary of State is really anxious that his object should not be misunderstood and that the enquiry should be conducted in a manner satisfactory to the public, he should forthwith add to the list of members the names of three or four prominent non-official Indians about whose capacity, courage and strength of character the people have no doubt. Why not the present number twelve be raised up to the strength of the Commission of 1886, which was fifteen?".

VI--Miscellaneous

The All-India Moslem League.

16. The Wednesday Review, of the 14th August, writes:-"We welcome the change in the attitude

The Wednesday Review of the 14th Aug writes:

Heading/ The All India Muslim League: -312- We welcome a change in the attitude

of the All-India Moslem League towards other communities in India, especially the Hindu community. For reasons which we need not detail here, a feeling of estrangement crept in between the two communities and men who had their own ends to serve lost no opportunity to accentuate it. It is generally the case that there will be more people to fan a spark into a flame than put it out lest it spread and did mischief. So too the Moslems in North India were told at every turn that their x own way if they wished to advance their interests. We do not say that whoever gave such advice was a designing individual and had his own axe to grind. But not a few of those who posed as leaders of the Muhammadans gave the advice from motives which were certainly not disinterested. Whatever were the motives that came into play, the progress of the country was checked for a while by a lack of co-operation between the two communities. Fortunately for them both events took a more ~~more~~ favourable turn, and the more thoughtful of the Muhammadans began to realise that for the larger interests of their country a feeling of union and mutual dependence was essential. That feeling has been growing ever since and the sentiments contained in the annual report presented last week by the All-India Moslem League, London, only emphasised it. The report suggested the formation of a Representative Board at which questions affecting the general interests of the country might be discussed and also an interchange of delegates between the Congress and the League. The latter suggestion might appear to imply that the Congress is purely a Hindu concern, and it will be wrong to create any such impression. What is more important, however, is the desire on the part of the Muhammadans to work hand in hand with the Hindus for the good of the country and we are glad that the All-India Moslem League is doing what it can to foster than desire".

x. interests ...ed with those of ... Hindus. and they should go their

Writing on this subject the Muhammadan, of the 19th August, says:- "The decision of the London Moslem League that fresh efforts for a Hindu-Moslem modus vivendi should

be made is a step in the right direction. Whether such a union is within the domain of practical politics is doubted by some Anglo-Indian and Moslem critics.........It was the Hindus who were at first responsible for the alienation of our sympathies, and it was they who first declared war against us..........If only the Hindu leaders had the foresight to know and understand the value and the importance of amicable relations and of co-operation between the Hindus and the Muhammadans, there would have surely been no rift in the lute of Indian Nationalism. The Hindus may be great in certain respects, but they have to count with the power and influence which the Moslem wields in the land..........In the fever of their vanity, the Hindus in their earlier days of political agitation did slight the aid and the sympathy of the Moslems. But we forget the past. We have no time for recrimination,.........We have every hope that the Hindu and the Moslem would live and labour in amity and concord for the good and welfare of the country they love so well.

The Public Service Commission.

30. The Dravidabhimani, of the 16th August, says:-This Commission has been appointed to enquire into the allegation that the higher appointments are not impartially bestowed on the Indians, and yet there are only two Indians on it. When the subject of the enquiry concerns the Indians, one can expect a fair enquiry only if there are a good number of Indians in the Commission. Even the two Indians now appointed to the Commission belong to Bombay. So, at least three more Indians should be appointed to represent Northern and Southern India. If it is true that the object of this Commission is to do good to the Indians, a satisfactory result cannot be expected from its enquiry unless the number of Indians on it is larger than the number of Englishmen.

Social reform and political reform.

41. The Swadesamitran, of the 20th August, writes:-During his speech on the Indian budget in the House of Commons, Mr. Montagu

observed that the Indians should now devote greater attention to social reform than to political reform. This statement is not entirely correct. Till now, political reforms have been introduced without any reference to social reforms. The privileges already granted to the Indians by the British Government and those recently conferred on them by the reforms of Lord Morley were not acquired by the people after all their social evils had been rooted out. The truth is that, as a result of the British rule for the last one and a half centuries, the nature, character and conduct of the Indians have undergone many important changes. For example, the English-educated Indians of the present day are quite different in their habits and manners from other classes. Caste distinction is not observed so keenly among them. They treat the lower classes with sympathy. Though, for external purposes, the ancient customs are still observed by them, there is an entire change in their character and conduct. Moreover, as Mr. Montague himself observed, the reforms of Lord Morley have begun a new era for the Indians. Though political in their nature, these reforms have strengthened the national consciousness of the Indians and increased their love for their country. These two features are enough to remove any social defect. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is going to South Africa, though he is a Brahman. Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya is trying to establish a university for men of all castes and creeds. The Muhammadans and Hindus are beginning to co-operate with each other. Genuine efforts are being made to raise the status of the Panchamas. All these not only show the change that has come over the character of the Indians, but may also had to further changes in the same direction. Thus political reforms cannot be said to be entirely different from social reforms. We do not deny that it is to our interest that our social evils should be ~~xxxxx~~ eradicated. But it is a mistaken notion on the part of some Englishmen that political reforms do not lead to social reforms and that the latter should therefore precede the former.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 31ST AUGUST 1812.

No. 36 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES

II. Home Administration.

(a) Police.

Police Surveillance.

2. In commenting on the reply of Lord Carmichael to the deputation of the Dacca People's Association, in which His Excellency is reported to have said that the Government would consider the release of political suspects from surveillance, the Indian Patriot, of the 28th August, observes:- "Since the troubles began in Bengal and spread to other parts of India, police surveillance of all ~~subjected to it~~ and sundry has been regularly going on. Most honourable men have been subjected to it, and sometimes in a very offensive manner. We do not say that surveillance was altogether unnecessary when trouble was abroad and when there were signs of anarchism and political crimes of a grave nature. But the business had to be conducted through a police which did not always realise the responsibilities of the task. They did not make a distinction between man and man...........In Madras itself there were instances of police activity invading the residences of even very high-placed men. The police had to watch and report everything, and they had necessarily a large measure of discretion which they were not always capable of exercising wisely, or tactfully. Large numbers of people became incensed at all this. Even gentlemen who had shares in the Swadeshi Navigation Company were pursued from place to place, though they had nothing but purely private business on hand. Men who were known as politicians were almost invariably watched. The fact of watching alone was known. What report was sent by the police who carried on the watch could never be known.

It is reasonable to assume that against many men prejudice was created in the minds of high officials and the Government. The impression created by these reports must have been very damaging to those concerned............Such a state cannot be conducive to confidence and cordiality between the Government and the people; for they must mutually suspect each other, and there cannot be that confidence and co-operation which are the basis of a progressive life. Government has always need for intelligence, and it has to maintain a department for the purpose. It must know what is going on, and has to know it, not in the manner of the clumsy policeman who manages easily to make himself obnoxious and hehaves like a fool. The Intelligence department must possess intelligence of a high order and must be able to do its work without other people knowing it; and it must do it honestly. But the Government has had to manage with incompetent agents who easily exposed themselves without doing much useful work. In Bengal of all provinces the police proved the worst. They were the ~~best~~ least capable of getting on with the people........We are, therefore, glad that the Dacca People's Association has moved before His Excellency the subject of police surveillance, and that His Excellency has promised consideration of it. It is never good policy to treat as suspects men who can be enlisted on the side of law and order, even men who may have at once time walked into irregular paths............The complaint of the Dacca People's Association seems to be that honourable and loyal people are unjustly subjected to surveillance. When a body like that makes such a declaration, it is certainly wise to listen to them as Lord Carmichael has done. The Government may perhaps know more than the association, for the Government's sources of information are not the same as those of a political association. But generally its estimate must be the correct one. In any case a number of people who ought not to be suspected are subjected to surveillance; and if surveillance cannot wholly be dispensed with, large exemptions should be made of men more or less generally known to be honourable and loyal. Indiscriminate

assailing by the police of reputations, even the possibility of it, has to be prevented, and the present state of Bengal justifies considerate treatment of assurances such as that implied in the request made by the People's Association".

(b) Courts.

The Midnapore appeal case.

3. The Cochin Argus, of the 24th August, remarks:-"We think a general feeling of the greatest relief will be experienced as a result of the judgment in the Midnapore damage suit appeal, Mr. Justice Woodroffe has written the judgment, and Justices Chatterjee and Cox have concurred, the former with certain reservations which do not affect the main issues..........It is said that the plaintiff in the case proposes appealing to the Privy Council. Of course, he is at liberty to do this, but we would have thought that, after Mr. Justice Woodroffe's full exhaustive analysis, the plaintiff and his friends would have had enough of the business. This unfortunate litigation has been protracted enough, and the plaintiff, who is not by any means a very distinguished member of Midnapore Society, might be advised to leave matters where they are".

The Wednesday Review, of the 28th August, observes:- "The Midnapore case is to be taken to the Privy Council and so we should reserve our criticism. We shall merely say that the Chief Justice and Justice Mukerjee have come in for some sharp criticism at the hands of Mr. Justice Woodroffe and Justice Fletcher for unmeasured rebuke. The unanimous opinion of the public is that the pronouncements of a Judge must be measured, especially when he differs from a colleague, but the language, of Justice Woodroffe in criticising Justice Fletcher was wanting in that restraint. But that is a quarrel between colleagues. Why should the press in India copy the language of Justice Woodroffe and attack Mr. Fletcher with, if possible, greater ferocity? Justice Fletcher's lot has not been an easy one. He had to try original suits of interminable length and he did his duty with admirable patience. The impressions that the Judge who tries a case forms are more likely to be unerring in

matters of fact and in drawing inferences from the circumstances of the case than those who read the evidence in cold print. At all events, common courtesy requires that a Judge should be protected from vulgar abuse. Justice Fletcher may not care for all the wild things said of him, but the public have to note them".

VI-- Miscellaneous

The All-India Muslim League.

16. The United India and Native States, of the 24th August, writes:- "At the last annual meeting of the All-India Muslim League, London, suggestions were put forward for a Hindu Muslim modus-vivendi and this has given occasion to some of our contemporaries to deliver themselves on the Hindu-Muhammadan question. All are agreed that for the advancement of the real interests of the country it is absolutely necessary that the Hindus and Muhammadans should co-operate in a spirit of amity and concord. Some of our contemporaries, however, write as though the All-India Muslim League has hitherto been pursuing a policy of antagonism towards the Hindus and that it now proposes to change its policy and depart from its tradition. This is certainly not fair. The League has always had for its objects co-operation with non-Mussalmans on all broad questions affecting the country's welfare so far as such co-operation is not incompatible with Mussalman interests and so far as we are aware nothing has been done to frustrate this laudable object. On the other hand, the part taken by the leaders of the League in bringing about the success of the Hindu-Muhammadan Conference at Allahabad furnishes an unmistakable instance of the policy guiding them and the movement they represent-........... People write as though the Right Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali was the arch-enemy of the Hindus and that he has been using every possible opportunity to accentuate the difference between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. To us this is unintelligible: nay, it looks like essentially misreading the views of our distinguished Muslim countryman..........We are no partisans:

we are only anxious that justice should be done to all parties whatever the difference which might divide us in regard to certain questions. We hope that nothing will be done to injure the feelings of our Mussalman countrymen, simply because they have been openly coming forward to see the friendly co-operation of their Hindu brethren".

Writing on this subject the Madras Standard, of the 26th August, says:_ "When did the Right Hon'Ble Mr. Syed Amir Ali stand on his legs, in recent years, without sounding a discordant note, likely to embitter the relations between the two communities in India? The sooner the Indian Muhammadans disclaim any leadership he might claim and his right to speak in their names, and allow more sane men, like His Highness the Aga Khan, to represent them, the better will it be for the two communities who have to live side by side and work for their common well-being. The Right Hon'ble gentleman seems to have an irrepressible and vicious propensity to foment discord. The speech is full of inuendos, which are plain enough, but which, far from healing, should have an irritating effect.........Would not responsible Indian Muhammadans, who understand the magnitude of the Hindu-Muhammadan problem in this country and the part of the two communities in the future progress of India, call a halt and ask this misguided gentleman to mind his business? His influence on Indian politics has had a blighting effect. Let him turn his attention to Turkey and other Muhammadan countries where his gospel is likely to receive less attention and bear better fruits".

The story of a colour bar.

20. In an article under this heading, the Indian Patriot, of the 29th August, writes:- "Colenel D. Warliker is an Indian member of the Indian Medical Service, retired, who has for the present settled down in England. He has been very useful to Indian young men in England.........Dr. Warliker sought

admission for his son into the Royal Military College. He could not secure admission..........The Army Council informed Colonel Warliker that his son was not eligible for admission to the competitive examination for entry to the Royal Military College because he was not of "pure European descent"...... . Brought up entirely in England, educated in a famous English school like Harrow,trained in the Officers' Training Corps of Harrow, having passed the Army qualifying examination, possessed of a good physique and sporting probabilities, son of a specially-approved officer of the Indian Medical Service, are all circumstances contributing to the making of a good soldier. Young Warliker, who has perhaps not seen India, spent his life in the free and fair atmosphere of England, mingled with the jovial youth of that country and imbibed military spirit from his father, from his companions and from his surroundings. When the warm blood of manhood impels him to seek life, and when he, his father and his friends are agreed that he would make a good soldier, he is told that he cannot be one. He is not of 'pure European descent'. Why should he be so? Where is it told that he should be so? It is laid down nowhere. But the Army Council can do as they like and they did so. To repeated representations, all that they would condescend to say to a distinguished officer of the Indian Medical Service is that 'after carefully considering the matter they have decided that his son cannot be admitted to the examination for entrance to the Royal Military College'.............The question is whether India will put up with the arbitrary decision of the Army Council, because there is nothing in the regulation to debar an Indian. We need not go far away to the colonies to cry against the colour bar. In England, at the nose of the Houses of Parliament, the Army Council is shaking aloft the colour bar.

"The story does not end here of young Warliker's eager cry for a commission in the Army, to serve his motherland

and the land of his adoption as a soldier in the battle field ....He applied for a commission in the West India Regiment.........The freezing reply came from the Army Council that "a commission in the West India Regiment is held to be exactly similar to any other commission in the Army"-- that is to say that it is denied to Indians who are not of European descent. Despairing of sugdess in England Colonel Warliker has applied to the Indian Government whether his son would be taken on 'through the Imperial Cadet Corps on the same terms as regards pay, promotions, pensions, etc., as those who pass out from Sandhurst'. The Government of India has not replied yet, though more than six months have elapsed since the application was made. The Government of India may not open the door to Colonel Warliker's son to enter the Army which is made a close preserve for English youths. We hope Colonel Warliker who is in England will raise the question in the House of Commons. He can ventilate the question in the public organs in England. It is time Indian youths of good physique and family should be allowed to make their mark in the military. But without a persistent and powerful agitation, military service will not be thrown open to us. Instances like the Warliker case forcibly remind us, as the treatment of our countrymen in South Africa and the attitude of the Imperial Government towards suffering Indians, and their oppressors abroad reminds us that it is a hollow mockery to call India the brightest jewel in the crown of England. We are denied the privileges of British citizenship. We are of no account until we raise a hue and cry and then a bone will be thrown out. The mind is stunned by such unimperial actions".

(k) General

High appointments to Indians.

29. The Swadesamitran, of the 28th August, writes:- A great deal of fuss has been made in the House of Commons over the

nomination of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald to the Public Service Commission on the ground that he cast some aspersions on the members of the Civil Service in India. But it is curious that no objection has been taken to the nomination of Lord Ronaldshay, who made some statements in the same house against the Indians and in favour of the Civil Service. This gentleman spoke as follows: "Out of the 28,000 appointments in India, 21,500 are held by the Indians and only the remaining 6,500 by Europeans or Eurasians. These were the figures ten years back. Since then, a larger number of Indians have been appointed. Moreover, an Indian has recently been appointed as a Member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy. There are two opinions regarding the nomination of Indians to the higher appointments, viz., (1) that an Indian should be given an appointment only if he has superior qualifications to other candidates and (2) that he should be given an appointment because he is an Indian, though he may be a man of mediocre ability. The former is held by men of the stamp of Lord Minto, while the latter is held by statesmen like Lord Morley, I do not know which of these is favoured by Lord Creew". We have not come across a more stupid statement than this. He says that 21,500 out of 28,000 appointments are held by Indians. The grievance of the Indians is not that the office dalayats and village accountants are not Indians. It is not possible to appoint Englishmen for these low appointments. The grievance of the Indians is that appointments carrying a salary of above Rs.500 are given to Englishmen and not to Indians. Though it is true that a few Indians are given these appointments now, the majority of them are conferred upon Englishmen and it is thought that the Indians are not capable of holding them. This is what is considered to be an insult to our race. Lord Ronaldshay has pointed out that an Indian has been appointed as a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Is it enough if one out

of the hundreds of high appointments is conferred upon an Indian? It is this kind of argument that provokes the Indians. It is based on the assumption that the Englishmen alone have a right to hold all the high appointments in India, and that it is only as a matter of grace that a few of these are given to the Indians. If a comparison is instituted between the Englishmen and the Indians in the matter of capability, we are sure the latter will not be inferior to the former. Even in the case of appointments which require expert knowledge, trained Indians are available and it is but fair that they should be given these appointments.

Para 38, 36 37 to be typed.

39. The Andhraprakasika, of the 28th August, says that in the
Europeans and Indians./ South African Colonies the Indians are treated as if they are not worthy of any regard. The European settlers there not only look down upon the Indian labourers working under them as if they are not human beings, but they hate the very name Indian. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, who is a member of the Imperial Legislative Council and who has been found competent to be appointed as a member of the Royal Commission on the Indian Public Service, and who is now in England, wanted to go to South Africa and applied through Messrs. Cook & Sons, for a berth in a first-class cabin being booked for his use in one of the Union Castle steamers. They enquired as to which race the passenger belonged and were informed that he was an Indian. They said that no European passenger would like to occupy the same cabin with an Indian, and that the honourable gentleman should pay for the whole cabin. For some days, the Company insisted upon taking the fare for the whole cabin, and it was with great difficulty that the Chairman was at last prevailed upon by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale to accept the reasonable fare. Mr. Gokhale is an able man and fought out his case with success. But the paper learns that a few persons had to pay for the whole cabin while they actually occupied one single berth. It says that this is one of the many instances in which the

Indians have been put under great disabilities by foreigners. But the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has shown a way for the other Indians to follow. But, says the paper, however much they may persevere in the cause of justice, it cannot lie in the power of everybody to succeed, and under such circumstaances it is at a loss to know why the British Indian rulers and the Parliament have failed to evince sufficient interest in the matter.

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VI. Miscellaneous.

35. In a leader under the heading "Vande Mataram" the Kalamegham of the 26th August, makes the following observations:-O mother! Cruel indeed is your plight at present. You, who were once looking grant, adorned with the costliest jewels and immersed in pleasure, have now become a victim to the dire disease of poverty! All your beauty is gone; your hair has become dishevelled; you have become dejected and made us also dejected thereby. Though we had the fortune of being born of your womb, we forgot the value of being your children and were leading the lives of pigs. We have not done anything which a son is bound to do to his mother. Countless are the days when we did not think of you even in our dreams. We were content with looking to our personal wants and using hat and boot, collar and tie, but never thought of you. What will the ancient sons of yours think of us now. We are not fit even to stand before them.

"Vande Mataram".

But even we have work up and we will not forget you again even in our dreams, whether in our propserity or in our adversity. Our body, wealth and soul are all yours. Our blood is yours. Our life is yours; our knowledge is yours. O beloved mother! If our mean body, blood, bone or nerve, is ever useful in the least for securing your prosperity and happiness, we leave all of them at your disposal this very day. O mother! The duty of supporting us rests on you.

36. The Tamilian, of the 28th August, is of opinion that social reform should always precede political reform and that unless the Indians do away with the evil effects of the caste system and treat all people alike, they are not justified in expecting the Government to undertake political reform.

Political reform and social reform.

37. Referring to the pronouncement of Lord Crewe, namely, that India can never have self-government on colonial lines, the Desamata, of the 21st August, says that he put a wrong interpretation on the despatch of the Government of India. It remarks that it is impossible to describe the disappointment to which the people of India have been put by this statement, which came upon them like a clap of thunderbolt. Self-government under the suzerainty of the British Sovereign, which had been the end and aim of great Indian patriots like the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, has now been pronounced to be a delusion. But the paper asks: Did Lord Salisbury, who was Secretary of State for India in 1875, ever dream that two Indians would be appointed as members of the India Council and that an Indian member would be appointed to each of the Executive Councils in India? Whoever thought that the partition of Bengal would be annulled? Events take place which nobody has ever dreamed before. A generous-hearted gentleman like Lord Morley, says the paper, may one day hold the destinies of India in his hands. He may recommend the people of India to the British Sovereign and the Cabinet and use his influence in securing self-government for them on colonial lines. The paper, in conclusion, urges the people not to get disspirited but to endeavour to qualify themselves for the colonial form of self-government.

Self-government for India.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 7th SEPTEMBER 1912.

No. 37 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

I. Foreign Politics.

India and Tibet.

2. Referring to the British Memorandum to China demanding autonomy for Tibet, the Indian Patriot, of the 5th September, says:-"Everything considered, we feel no doubt that the British demand to China is a mistake, and that British diplomacy has been seriously at fault. China's compliance with the demand will, in its ultimate results, be worse than her rejection of it. If she complies, Russia is sure to come in. If she refuses, we shall have to settle accounts only with China. China has not been in a hurry to reply; and we are rather glad of it. British statesmen must ponder over the problem long before they precipitate matters; and reflection must convince them that they are apt to make a very grave mistake if they, taking advantage of China's present position, force her to abandon Tibet".

VI. Miscellaneous.

The recent public meeting in Madras and the Muhammadan community.

17. The United India and Native States, of the 31st August, writes:-"AT the recent public meeting held in Madras to protest against Lord Crewe's interpretation of the ideal of Provincial autonomy for India put forward in the despatch of the Government of India proposing the Coronation boons, there was not a single Mussalman speaker--even the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Muhammad Sahib Bahadur, who has been identifying

himself with the Congress movement, was conspicuous by ~~his presence of the~~ his absence. Does this indicate that the Mussalmans of Madras as a body disapprove of the ideal foreshadowed in the despatch of the Government of India? Recent writings in the Muslim Press, specially in the Aligarh Institute Gazette, have been of a kind to raise the impression in one's mind that Mussalmans do hail the ideal of Provincial autonomy and that their only anxiety is to have their own status assured in the new system of Government. Even the much abused Mr. Amir Ali is not opposed to the ideal of a self-governing India. All that he has been agitating for is the recognition of the existence of a distinct community like Indian Mussalmans which most of the so-called nationalistic leaders in the country are only too apt to forget. This is obvious from the address which was read on his behalf at the Delhi Session of the League and from his writings and utterances on the Hindu Mussalman question. What is it then that has kept the Mussalmans of Madras aloof from the protest against Lord Crewe's views? Do they think that their attitude is such as will lead people to recognise their existence as a separate political entity? For our part we should have liked that Muslim leaders had joined the protest meeting and had enunciated their attitude in regard to their ideal of an autonomous India in clear and unmistakable terms. Such a procedure on their part would have helped the cause of the country and led to a better understanding between Mussalmans and non-mussalmans than their silence. Even now it is not too late to repair the mistake. The Madras Presidency Muslim League may pass a resolution on behalf of Mussalmans in similar terms as the public meeting at the Victoria Hall. Perhaps this is too large an order. The Presidency League may not do anything in regard to Imperial politics excepting on the initiative of the All-India Muslim League and we do not yet know officially what attitude that representative body has adopted. We shall however wait and watch".

18. In a leading article on this subject, the Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 1st September, writes:-

The Hindu-Muslim Problem.

"Since Sir William Wedderburn's mission to India in 1910 to reconcile the divided interests of the Hindus and Muslims and to bring them together on terms of cordial relationship, there has been a genuine desire on both sides to eliminate, as far as possible, the points of difference and to multiply the points of contact with a view to mutual co-operation for the attainment of common ends. Sir William presided over the deliberations of a joint committee of which, among, others, the Aga Khan and Mr. Gokhale were members. Nothing has since been known of that committee. But the policy of conciliation has been inaugurated, of which the benefits have been admitted to be real by the enlightened representatives of both the communities. The Russian aggression in Persia and the Turko-Italian war have united the Hindus and Muslims in one common protest against the high-handedness of the two European powers. Throughout India public demonstrations were held, at which the Hindu and the Muslim stood shoulder to shoulder as fellow-countrymen and fellow-citizens in defence of the interests of the Muhammadans of Persia and Turkey. With this the outside world was profoundly impressed, and Indian Muslims themselves realised for once the advantages of their fraternising with their Hindu neighbours..............The Muhammadan and the Hindu are neighbours, and their grievances and wants, in so far as they could be dealt with by the Government, have nearly always been the same. Take any locality where Hindus and Muhammadans live, and you find the truth amply illustrated. In some isolated places there bas been misunderstanding due to temporary and trifling causes.........Not till the formation of the Muslim League was there any grave cause of misunderstanding. In the early days of the Congress Sir Syed Ahmed Khan stood aloof from it and held forth on the separatist doctrine. But the

opposition was not strong and organized enough to survive the death of that great man. If it existed at all it was confined to a few localities in Northern India, dominated by the Aligarh school of politicians...........The time has come when both communities should be more tolerant towards each other and learn to work side by side for the good of their common motherland".

The Muhammadans of India.

19. Referring to a lecture, under this heading, delivered by the Right Hon'ble Mr. Saiyid Amir Ali, at Cambridge, on the 27th July last, the Muhammadan, of the 2nd September writes:-"No one occupies a higher place in the estimation of the Moslem world than the Right Hon'ble Mr. Saiyid Amir Ali. He has grown great in the service of his co-religionists. To-day he is the spokesman not of a sect or of a party--but of a whole community of the Moslems. Endowed with brilliant powers, he commands attention all around. The lecture that he delivered on the Muhammadans of India and their place in the empire at the Cambridge University is a masterpiece of its kind. The development of each community must proceed on its own ideals, and standards of thought and training, before any attempt at amalgamation is made. Each community working its progress--with toleration and good-will towards other communities, of course--the day of a united India will, in due course of time, dawn. We shall wait and work. Springing from a common stock, Christianity and Islam must extend to each other the hand of sympathy and friendship. On the other hand what a sand spectacle we witness in the tribulations of Persia, and the wrongs of Turkey--let alone other sorrows and wrongs. The Moslem in India is bound to the Moslems all over the world by community of faith, by historical traditions, by identity of institutions. When the Mussalman suffers wrongs in Turkey or in Persia, or in Moracco, or in Tripoli, the Mussalman in India feels

for him. It is natural. Bound to England by feelings of gratitude and loyalty, the Moslem in India looks up to England--the greatest Moslem power in the world, in a way--to raise her voice in protestation against the wrongs inflicted upon their co-religionists abroad. Every faithful the moslem would love and serve England, as a soldier or a sailor, and fight England's cause as his own. It is no idle word. England--if her foreign policy be dictated by wise statesmanship and far-sighted diplomacy--would form a bulwark for herself based on the hearts of the Mussalman millions".

Writing on this subject under the heading "Mr. Amir Ali's latest" the Hindu, of the 6th September, says:-- "Though a Judge of His Majesty's Privy Council, Mr. Amir Ali has not hesitated to give a political and partisan view of the subject. By the enunciation of his views in the manner he has done, Mr. Amir Ali has raised aloft the banner of separatism as regards the relations between the Muhammadan and Hindu communities although he declares 'I am not a separatist'. It is said that he recently got into hot water with the Government in England on account of the adverse criticism which he indulged in against the British Government in the matter of their neutrality in the war between Italy and Turkey. Mr. Amir Ali's opinions on the position of the Muhammadans in India relatively to their Hindu fellow-subjects are of a retrograde character, and the claim which he advances for his co-religionists as being of the same race and religion as those living in Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and other countries is not a factor which will bring home to the Government considerations of a special kind on their behalf. It is, on the other hand, an element of a complicated and disharmonious character which a man of the position of Mr. Amir Ali ought to have refrained from alluding to the ventilation

of views like those of Mr. Amir Ali cannot conduce to produce the 'concord and harmony' between Hindus and Mussalmans which the Moslem League in London desired in their last annual report to see brought about".

20. The Indian Patriot, of the 4th September, has the following:-"A correspondent of the Times has called attention to what he deems a serious danger, namely, the revival of Pan-Islamism in India and elsewhere; and he suggests that the Amir, intoxicated by flattery, may one day stand forth as the champion of Islam and start a conflagration...........Criticisms like this are calculated on the one hand to rouse fears in the minds of people disposed to take an alarmist view of the situation, and on the other to create a prejudice against Indian Muhammadans .... We do not believe that there is any intelligent Muhammadan who believes in the possibility of realising the Pan-Islamic idea through the Amir of Afghanistan. To Muhammadans as well as to other Indians it will be a satisfaction if Afghanistan is maintained as an independent Asiatic State. Nor does the State of any Muhammadan country at present encourage the idea of rouse the fear of any menace. Turkey is distracted by war and internal troubles. Persia is almost in her last gasp in the grip of Russia. Morocco is in the hands of the French. Egypt is in the occupation of Britain. None of these countries is able to do anything to promote a Pan-Islamic movement. Are Indian Muhammadans going to risk their own future in the pursuit of an idea? We do not, and cannot, believe they are.

An imaginary danger.

"It is true that they sympathise with the Muhammadan countries in their trouble; and it is also true that, with their faith in Britain's strength and sense of fair-play, they are exceedingly disappointed at her inability to

help Turkey in her war with Italy, and at her subserviency to Russia in Persia. Nor are Indian Muhammadans the only people who are dissatisfied with Britain's foreign policy. Other Indians feel like Muhammadans, and so do many people in England. Indeed, in the case of Muhammadans, there is a religious sympathy apart from mere political sympathy, and they do not make a secret of this sympathy. But on the general question of Britain's policy most people, even in England, are agreed that it has been vacillating and weak and incompatible with Britain's interests and prestige. In any case this is not the time for the Muhammadans to cherish Pan Islamism as a practical or possible ideal, and Indian Muhammadans are not so lost to common-sense as to believe that the present circumstances furnish an opportunity to them to realise their Pan Islamic ideal.........They do not presume to dictate the whole foreign policy of Britain as the Times suggests. But they complain that Britain has not done what was expected of her.........The policy that has been pursued in Persia is not certainly consistent with the dignity and prestige of Britain. It is not consistent even with the spirit and letter of the Anglo-Russian Convention. With regard to Turkey, perhaps, Britain could not prudently do much against the Italian aggression, unjust and unrighteous as it is. But in Persia Britain has lost considerable ground by the weakness of her policy, and the ground once lost cannot be easily recovered. From this, however, we cannot infer any unfriendliness towards Muhammadans or any lack of desire to respect their feelings and wishes. Nor does the policy in Persia reflect the opinion or attitude of the British people, but only the weakness of a minister. At the same time, Indian Muhammadans have to guard them[illegible] against a possible misunderstanding of their aims. [illegible] long years of silent grumbling, they have now begu[illegible] organised expression to their opinions and feeli[illegible]

some of their recent utterances, indicating an aim extending beyond India, have been seized by suspicious minds with a sense of alarm. We do not ourselves believe that in the present state it will be to their interest to impair the sense of their imperfections at home by directing their hopes elsewhere. It will be well to fix your eyes on heaven, but you must be sure that your feet are on earth. The regeneration of Indians has to be effected in India; and any ideal which separates them, in their conception, from their own country is not a sound basis of progress".

(k) General.

32. The Sasilekha, of the 3rd September, says that Europeans came to India and taught the Indians their arts and sciences. The latter have learned them so much so that in certain cases they have excelled their European teachers. The paper regrets that, although the Indians have become so very learned, the authorities look on them as if they are inferior to Europeans. A learned Indian with an official experience of twenty years is regarded as inferior to a raw European who has just arrived from England. Again in military service, Indian sepoys, says the paper, are considered unworthy of standing alongside of English soldiers to fight against a European army. This attitude on the part of the authorities towards the Indians is quite improper, and it is this, the paper goes on to say, that has made the people of the colonies look down upon the Indians. The paper prays that the authorities will carefully think over the matter and honour the people of this country by conferring on them high posts in the civil department.

[INDIANS]

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 14TH SEPTEMBER 1912.

No. 38 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS/OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration

(k) General.

11. The Madras Standard, of the 14th September, observes:-

[The Nicholson Commission.]

"The Nicholson Commission has been taking evidence and as its proceedings are purda-naxhin, we can know nothing about the value of the work that it has so far done. We have to go in to the British press for it and the London correspondent of the Manchester Guardian gives a few facts about the nature of the work it is likely to turn out............The work which the Nicholson Commission is expected to turn out would seem to have been begun by Lord Kitchener himself, when he disbanded some of the southern regiments. It is expected to be continued in a very much more drastic fashion and to affect particularly the Bengali and the Sikh regiments, for the most disquieting and surprising fact of the matter is that these latter, which are popularly supposed to be the flower of the Indian army, are regarded now-a-days by its officers as troops no longer possessing useful fighting qualities. We do not know what truth there is in this statement, but, if so, there is no doubt that the new will be received in the up-country with considerable surprise. If the Sikhs have to go, by whom are they to be replaced? The correspondent says that in the first place there are the Gurkhas who do not, of course, consider themselves 'native' troops at all. About 80,000 of th[illegible] the most are available for the Indian army, but there are over 100,000 in addition trained on the Indian army model in the service

of the friendly State of Nepal. In the immediate future the Gurkhas are to be the backbone of the Indian army. They are to be supplemented by the enlistmentinto regiments which already exist of frontier tribesmen who have been proved to possess warlike qualities, particularly the Afridis and the Pathans, many of whom, of course, are already in the British Service. The idea seems to be to fill the blanks in enlistments as they occur with these men and so restore to their original strength battalions that have deteriorated. The correspondent points out that on this side of its activities, at any rate, the Nicholson mission is carrying on Lord Kitchner's reforms and not departing from them. That Lord Kitchener had such a supreme contempt for the finest war material in India would be a surprise to most people in India, and though the Nicholson Commission may carry out only the wish of Lord Kitchener, the policy of enlisting for the army the Baluchis, Pathans and Afridis is sure to create considerable discontent. Apart from the fact, whether a country like India can ever be permanently saved be mercenary troops, there is the political discontent that it is likely to cause. Nobody in India would be foolish enough to believe that the warrior race is died out, though the present policy of emasculation might have contributed to it............The present policy would seem to be more political than military. The military authorities would seem to believe that to give military training to the people would be dangerous and that the army must be drawn from those who have no sympathy with India. Only history is replete with illustrations that no country was ever saved by mercenary troops and it is a lesson that the authorities ought not to forget".

VI. Miscellaneous

The revival of Pan-Islamism.

13. Referring to a letter which appeared in the [illegible]s (London) recently on [illegible] Pan-

Islamism in India and elsewhere, the Muhammadan, of the 5th September, observes:--"A correspondent of the Times has taken the world by surprise--by means of a precious information. The correspondent suavely asserts that the revival of Pan-Islamism in India is fraught with danger. Nor is this all. The correspondent, in the plentitude of wisdom, sees a formidable danger in the Amir of Afghanistan. Intoxicated with flattering compliments of his co-religionists, he would come out as the champion of Islam, and start a conflagration. The sentiments and prophesies to which the correspondent of the Times gives expression so loudly, are as idle as they are malicious. The Amir has enough work on hand to consolidate the peace and prosperity of his own kingdom. It would be an insult to his understanding to suppose him to be capable of doing anything rash, calculated to bring mischief and ruin in its wake. And then, Pan-Islamism, here or elsewhere, means peace all round. It strives to bring about a unity of feeling among the faithful all over the world.........If the Moslems of India should make touching appeals to England on behalf of Persia or Turkey, in the face of such huge wrongs inflicted upon those countries by Russia and Italy, it is because they have a firm faith in the good sense of England. England's Ministers may err at times in their judment, but the heart of England--we mean the heart of the people of England--is sound. In this hour of trial--would extent her right arm of friendship to the Moslems--is our hope. Buoyed with this hope--however insupportable it be, in view of the fact of the vacillating policy of the British Foreign Secretary in Persia, especially,--we persist in pressing our claim on the attention of England. That is all. We do not claim to dictate the whole foreign policy of England--as the Times seems to suggest. The Times holds out the threat that England would refuse to act up to the dictation of the Moslems

and tribulation of the muslim States, England--the foster mother of liberty--we

of India. It is unfortunate that the London Thunderer should fail to understand us, x our cares and griefs, our aims and aspirations. We seek to better our political status in the country of our adoption--and we are also as much concerned with the fates of our co-religionists abroad. Madness does not surely lie this way. We understand our position. We know our limitations. We know also the possibilities to which we may rise with England's sympathy and co-operation. This is not the time for suspicions and fears. We call for mutual understanding--for mutual trust--for mutual help- England would stand by us, as friend and guide--we hope still-- in this sad hour".

x. It is should fail to understand us.

The Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 8th September remarks;- "According to the Times, the Pan-Islamic menace is not so formidable as depicted. It thinks that Muhammadans in India should have every consideration, but they cannot expect, the Times adds, to dictate the whole British foreign policy. Perhaps, the Times has no objection to their dictating the Indian policy of the Government. It has used language which could convey no other impression; and some of the leading Tory protagonists, who have been enthusiastic advocates of Moslem interests as against those of the Hindus in connection with Lord Morley's reforms, have held the same view. Apart, however, from this Pan-Islamism is and has been a real living force. It gathers fresh strength at every tale of European aggression against Moslems elsewhere, and there can be no doubt that Russia's conduct in Persia and Italy's appetite for Turkish territories along the Mediterranean have strengthened and revivified the Pan-Islamic sentiment. Indian Moslems have in this behalf secured the whole-hearted support of their fellow-subjects of all classes in India, and it is but right that British foreign policy should take account of these factors in the situation".

15. The West Coast Reformer, of the 8th September, writes:-

Eurasian regiments.

"An interesting subject that occupies the attention of the Indian public to-day is the expediency of creating a number of Eurasian regiments. An adequate employment of the Eurasian population has for long been under the consideration of the Government and a section of the public. The difficulty of finding suitanle employment for Eurasians is one of the many difficulties arising from the suspended or unsettled nature of that community.........The aspiration of the 'domiciled Anglo-Indians' or Eurasians as they are long accustomed to call themselves and to be called, is not to mingle with the Indian sepoys or soldiers but to associate with the European soldiers. They are unwilling to do the first-mentioned act and they are diffident of being allowed to do the second act. They want to ignore and soar above the Indian ranks and to obtain the pay and privileges of the European ranks. They desire to enter the army because they want employment, and they desire at once to throw into the share the Indian section which has come into the army because it deserves and is desired to be there! What a great difference between the two classes! The one chooses the army for its livelihood and the other is chosen for the army on account of its recognized merit and aptitude; and yet the former wants higher pay than the latter,--a claim which may be justified by the cynic as commensurate with the end and aim of the Eurasians in entering the army........If the prestige, privileges and past service of the great Indian soldiers are summarily overlooked and the seekers of a mess of pottage are placed over their shoulders, it will be a great injustice potent with evil consequences.

"The other reasons given by the new Kshatriyas for recognition of their martial qualities by the State are absolutely untenable. They say their loyalty to the Government is paramount and can be relied on at all times, nay that it will be criminal folly to consign such a store house of loyalty into oblivion and disuse in the protection of India. The specious argument reflects on the comparative claims to loyalty of the Indian soldiers. Anybody who has any pretension to a knowledge of historical facts will at once refute this selfish theory of the superior loyalty of Eurasians.........The curtailment of the military expenditure and forces has been a subject of serious consideration before the Government and the public men of this country. Reports are heard that the Government intend disbanding some European and Indian regiments. Is it possible at this time to create new and additional corps for the satisfaction of the unemployed Eurasians? Are the Eurasians then to take the place of European soldiers, as their demand implies? If that takes place, first no retrenchment of expenditure can be effected, secondly, the military qualities of the constantly-refreshed British soldiery can never be substituted by those of the domiciled Eurasians of the country. It was decided so early as 1858 that the Anglo-Indian (even of the pure Anglo-Saxon extraction) domiciled in India could never be on a level of efficiency with the British Soldier".

16. The Hindu of the 9th September, writes as follows:-

Sir George Clarke on self-government.

"It cannot be said that ... Excellency Sir G... has added to his reputation as a statesman... speech which he delivered at the Fergusso...

on Thursday last. His Excellency may or may not believe in democracy, but in addressing the students before him on the defects and imperfections of democracies and democratic governments, he might just have remembered that it was one of the most democratic governments England has ever seen, which chose and sent him down to rule the Bombay Presidency..........All his cheap sneer cannot disguise the fact that His Excellency has not himself a correct idea of what the views of Indians as to self-government are. To look to self-government on colonial lines as the goal of Indian political evolution and political aspirations and to ask the Government to strike with the people towards the attainment of that ideal, is surely not to assert that India is already fit for this 'stupendous change', much less to 'desire with a stroke', of the pen to sweep away the entire social system enshrined for centuries in this pre-eminently aristocratic land and to give equal political rights to every Indian adult' or to contemplate 'immediate severance from the British Empire'. His Excellency need not have been at so much pains to refer to such imaginary dangers lurking behind a demand which he has gratuitously assumed as one made in any responsible quarter. But to show that self-government on colonial lines can never be practicable in India, just as to demand or cherish self-government on colonial lines as an ultimate goal is not to ask that it shall be immediately introduced. His Excellency, of course, cannot see colonial self-government even in visions, because it would render India defenceless against grave dangers external as well as internal, but he entirely forgot his own knowledge of what self-government has been in the colonies.........
To think of Indian political aspirations and of future political progress in India without any advance in the path of self-government is simply to blink the issue in the vain hope of evading its solution".

is not immediately ...able, is not to ...alls out that self-government

In commenting on this speech the Madras Standard, of the 10th September, observes:--"Lord Morley has somewhere said that with an Indian bureaucrat democracy always goes hard. Sir George Clarke has been long enough in India to be 'sub-baked' and imbine the prejudices of the bureaucrat. The cause of democracy may not suffer at the hands of such men, for it is not men like Sir George Clarke or even the retired Anglo-Indians that can stem the tide of democracy. Its current is too rapid and too strong for such puny efforts to effectively stop it. We do not think that the democratic movement can be injured by gubernatorial utterances. Great world movements start with the momentum of cataracts and we are not concerned, therefore, with the fate that may await them, because there are obscurantist oppositions. But the statements of these men are read more as showing the human sympathy that these people are capable of. Sir George Clarke's sympathies with struggling nationalities can be judged from the recent utterance of his before the students of Ferguesson College, Poona.........We have the beginnings of the institutions which we hope to develop and perfect. Why should Sir George cry 'Halt'? Does he think that bureaucracy is the last word of human wisdom in the art of Government? But Sir George would not be the typical bureaucrat he is if he held a different opinion".

(k) General.

Separate privileges for the Englishmen and Eurasians living in India.

25. With reference to the conference recently held at Simla to consider about the condition, education, etc., of the Englishmen and Eurasians living in India and the resolutions passed therein, pleading for special privileges in the matter of education for the members of this class, the Swadesamitran,

of the 6th September, remarks:--We have no objection to the Government taking special interest in the education of this class of people; but we do object to its deeming the Europeans and Eurasians to be a separate class higher than the Indians and thinking that they should be treated better than the Indians. Already, European merchants are employing only this class of people in their firms and even in Government service the appointments in some of the departments are so made as to produce an impression that they were created only for the benefit of this class. If the Government shows its partiality for this class in so many ways, what will be the kind of feeling created in the minds of ths Hindus and Muhammadans? It is surprising that the Government has not thought of this.

/Military Service./

27. The Kistnapatrika, of the 31st August, suggests that the members of the Public Service Commission recently appointed should not only enquire into matters affecting the Civil departments of Government, but should also include, within the scope of their enquiry, appointments in the gift of government in the Military department. It is widely known that only very low appointments are conferred on the Indians in the military service. All the Commissioned officers are Europeans. Indians cannot, under the present rules, rise higher than Subadars and Rasaldars, who have no independent powers, but are subordinate to European officers. They are not allowed to be in charge of cannon, and under such circumstances they have no opportunity to distinguish themselves as warriors. It cannot be said that Indians are not skilled in warfare. The Gurkhas, the Mharattas and the Sikhs have earned historical fame for their military skill and ability, and it cannot be believed, says the paper, that they are unfit to be Lieutenants and Colonels.

30. The Shams-ul-Akbhar, of the 6th September, reproduces the views of an Indian correspondent of the London

/India and Pan-Islamism/

Times that the "black-peril" of Pan-Islamism has, at last, infected the area of India and some other countries. Its origin, in his opinion, is due to the Turko-Italian war and the silence of Britain as regards Russian activities in Persia. This has created a bad impression upon the minds of the most loyal subjects of His Imperial Majesty George. In the long run His Majesty the Amir may also take the lead and the conflagration may reach far and wide. The Times, however, does not agree with the correspondent as regards the Amir, and says that the danger of Pan-Islamism is not so grave as is described; but it adds that the Mussalmans should have some consideration shown them, and it advises the Mussalmans at the same time not to be so bold as to try and direct the foreign policy of Britain.

The Shams-ul-Akbhar advises the Mussalmans to be thankful both to (friends and strangers) Muslims and non-Muslims but not to give ear to vague apprehensions, for, says the paper, the European press is accustomed now-a-days to create false rumours; and whenever the Mussalmans claim their rights the English and the Anglo-Indian press consider it an act of Pan-Islamism. Let them say what they like, but we, Mussalmans, must put forward our rights within legal bounds. It is only a matter of a few days past that the affiliation of "the Muslim University" or rather "the Aligarh University" has been localised and even the very prefix "Muslim" was not approved of. Hence the Mussalmans cry and appeal for redress which in the eyes of non-Muslims and their press is the outcome of Pan-Islamism. Whatever it may be styled we must have our pitiable story reach the ears of His Imperial M

George and so obtain a charter for the Muslim University from our Sovereign. Let people ascribe this act of ours to Pan-Islamism or other Islamism, we don't care".

VI--Miscellaneous

32. The Swadesamitran, of the 4th September, observes:-

Mr. Montagu and the advice of antiquated Englishmen.

During his speech on the budget in the House of Commons, Mr. Montagu is reported to have said that, as India was now entering upon a new era and the Indians were being actuated with new aspirations and ideals, it would no longer do to act upon the advice of Englishmen, whose experience was antiquated and who were still following the old tracks. Though this statement has provoked many Englishmen, its truth cannot be denied. Our readers know that there is a Council in England for the purpose of advising the Secretary of State for India on all Indian matters, and the ten members of this Council are all Englishmen who retired from service in India and whose knowledge of India is, therefore, ten or twenty years old. Even the English correspondents of the London Times are only men of this type. So, the opinion of the English public about Indian matters is naturally very antiquated. But India is advancing very rapidly. There is a vast difference between India at the time of Lord Curzon and India as it is to-day; and this difference is due partly to the benign acts of our British rulers and partly to the example of other progressive countries. British statesmen, who know this, will not attach any weight to the advice of antiquated Englishmen. It is only those Englishmen who are in touch with India every day that can safely pronounce an opinion regarding matters I[illegible] it is with the object of acquiring this experien[illegible] Mr. Montagu is now visiting India.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 21ST SEPTEMBER 1912.

No. 39 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration

(a) Police.

Police surveillance

3. Referring to the reply of Lord Carmichael to the deputation of the Dacca People's Association on the question of police surveillance over political suspects and persons released from prison, the United India and Native States, for the week ending 14th September, says:--"It is hoped that in the settlement of this delicate question His Lordship will evince that broad statesmanship and freedom from political bias which have characterized his sayings and doings since his arrival in India. There can be no doubt that under the present undesirable, not to say, vicious system of espionage, they find it impossible to earn an honest living, for the attentions paid to them by the unwelcome visitors of the Intelligence department constitute a fatal obstacle to turning over a new leaf. The methods pursued by the Police officers are extremely annoying and unspeakably clumsy, and it is not a pleasant situation even for suspects and released offenders to be shadowed at every turn by a couple of Police constables in mufti. Very often the persons thus pursued are made to feel that they are watched and dogged day and night as if they were dregs of ~~with modern notions of~~ society, quite [illegible]t to live. This is not a humanitarian policy con[illegible] with modern notions of civilized Government and [illegible]erely trust than an entirely new policy will r[illegible]he present

undesirable system..........The present system of espionage by the Police will have to be radically modified, if it is not to be given up altogether. The subject is doubtless a complicated one, but we have no doubt that the Government of India as well as the several provincial Governments will handle it in a spirit of sympathy and enlightened statesmanship so that the existing unsatisfactory state of affairs may be ended soon".

(k) General.

9. In a leading article under this heading, the Malabar Herald, of the 14th September, writes:--"Of late, there has been a good deal of unpleasant remarks passed by some of the leading Anglo-Indian and Indian papers in regard to the absence of any information or statement of accounts concerning the balance of Indian money held by the India Office which now happens to be an enormous sum, as will be evidenced by certain revelations that have since been made. It would appear that nearly 30 to 40 millions sterling of India's money is being secretly transferred from India to London. The London Times has suppressed certain important passages in the debate that lately took place on the scandalous misapplication of State funds by the Finance Committee of the India Office. Colonel C.E. Yate put a series of questions lately and elicited certain answers from the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Samuel Montagu, who is the brother of the present head of a firm of bullion-dealers of the same name which evinced recently some unusual interest in the India Office finance......... Colonel Yate asked for information on five specific points ....To none of these questions, did Mr. Samuel Montag[illegible] give a straightforward reply. He indulged in a lo[illegible] quibbling which goes to confirm the suspicion th[illegible] is something rotten in the management of t[illegible] held by the India Office. In the course [illegible]

India Office scandal

however, he attempted to introduce a novel principle by stating that it is always the duty of the India Office to remit money to India at the public expense for the benefit of Exchange Banks and others at low rates than the banks and others can themselves ship sovereigns to India. The principle is amusingly novel. Say for instance the High Commissioner for Canada, Australia, or South Africa informs the public that unless he placed £18,000,000 of State funds at the disposal of a few private banks and trading firms, the trade of Canada, Australia, or South Africa would come to a standstill! The reply reveals a degree of ignorance or impudence unparalleled in the history of Parliamentary debate. Strenuous efforts are, however, being made by some of the Parliamentary members to unravel this state of affairs. But unfortunately the London Press and a Parliamentary group are trying to hush up the matter which, we believe, will not be left where it is, as in all probability a vigorous agitation will crop up with the object of regulating the expenditure in connection with the India Office and utilizing the balance in hand on profitable terms to India and not to London bankers and money-borrowers. India has a right to agitate on this subject as it is India's money that is annually drawn to London and made use of in a manner the least desirable".

IV. NATIVE STATES

Sir William Lee-Warner on the Native States of India.

18. Referring to a lecture delivered by Sir William Lee-Warner at Cambridge recently on the Native States of India, the Indian Patriot, of the 18th September, observes:-"Sir William says that 'sham representative councils without any real power' and other devices are created to avert the evil eye of foreign opinion; and the force of his criticism

will be most felt in Mysore where he was Resident and where the Press has been destroyed, and the representative assembly, even after thirty years, is devoid of any collective reality or power. Mysore of all States should have shown the greatest development on the lines sketched by Sir William Lee-Warner. It had the special benefit of fifty years' British rule. It was restored under conditions which should have secured for it the same development at least as has accrued in British India. Yet when Mysore presents the spectacle which it does to-day, it is no wonder that other States have not advanced very much towards the consummation with Sir William desires. Whose is the fault? It is partly of Indian administrators themselves who have been Ministers of States, and in Mysore at any rate also of the British Government who had certainly the right under the instrument of rendition to disallow a Press law like that which it passed. The faults of Native administrators are due to their limited political vision and their reliance on temporary expedients for temporary purposes. They have no need to look far into the future. They are content to show a good record of their own performances, and have not the political foresight to view the present and the future, as Sir William views them. The British Government can encourage the development of local freedom. By their example they are doing it. But example alone is not sufficient to move Native State administrators whose political ideals are generally of the narrowest kind. We have no doubt that Sir William Lee-Warner's outspokenness will have a great influence on Native States which have caught the progressive spirit and are administered by Ministers who know enough to appreciate the truth of Sir William's observations".

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

19. The Muhammadan, of the 9th September, writes:--"Since the awakening of the national mind in India, there have been demands for the establishment of military colleges to train Indians for the purpose of holding commissions in the army. An Indian Militia would be a glorious thing--but it is not to be. At any rate the demand has met with rebuff and refusal. Perhaps time will dissipate England's suspicions, and remove England's fears--and military colleges will yet arise in the land. With all England's protestations of faith and trust, and with all India's protestations of loyalty and service, Indians are not yet allowed to serve as volunteers in defence of England's cause. While Indians are trusted in the administration of the country and in the dispensation of justice, it is indeed a pity that they should be denied the privilege of holding commissions in the army. When they are capable of holding the highest appointments in the civil administration of the country, how is it they come to be thought incompetent to hold high and responsible posts in the Military service? Are the Indians ever to be condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water? Indians, side by side with Englishmen, have fought England's battles, not only on the Indian soil, but also on distant foreign lands..........While on this subject we have come across a sad and grievous case of racial prejudice in the matter of admission to the competitive examination for entry to the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. In this case, the son of Colonel Warliker, an officer who was served 30 years in the Indian Medical Service, has to medals, and who on retirement receives an extra pension of £100 a year for good service in addition to his ordinary pension, has been found ineligible for admission to the competitive examination

/Indians and the army//

for entry to the Royal Military College 'on account of his not being of pure European descent"...........In this unfortunate case, we witness the sad spectacle of a bright youth's fond aspirations and dreams broken--for the satisfaction of the demands of petty narrow racial prejudice. Has colour more worth than character? Is caste superior to capacity? Is race antipathy the symbol and the substance of modern civilization? In the name of all that is high and noble we plead before the bar of English public opinion for the abolition of race prejudice in the matter of selection for service".

Referring to this case the Hindu, of the 18th September, remarks:-"A more glaring case of pure race prejudice cannot be conceived, and this thwarting of every successive attempt to open for Indians of proved valour, merit and rank a career in the higher ranks of the army is bound to deepen the discontent of the people........The action of the Army council in the case of young Warliker is a fair sample of how formidable and peremptory it is, but such a state of things requires early attention, and we hope by persistent agitation it will yet be possible to see that full justice will be done to Indian claims in this matter".

/The All-India Muslim League//

20. Commenting on the fourth annual report of the All-India Muslim League, the Muhammadan, of the 12th September, says--"The report is a brilliant statement of our present political situation in India. The report tells our needs and grievances in a manner clear and conscise. There is not an item of concern to us which is left out of consideration in the report..........With reference to the re-partition of Bengal--to which much though we have to demur--we acquiesced in the arrangement. We claimed only that Muslim interests be safeguarded under the changed conditions. Much as the transfer of capital from Calcutta to

~~Delhi is appealing to Muslim sentiment, we~~

Delhi is appealing to Muslim sentiment, we view it with disfavour on grounds of expediency. But there is no help in the matter. It has the seal and sanction of His Majesty the King himself.........We view with pleasure that through a happy combination of events that the Hindus and the Mussalmans are striving to understand each other for the peace and prosperity of both the communities. The attempts to built a mosque in London are indeed laudable. And the work of the British Red Crescent Society calls for praise. The deed of mercy is indeed a kingly deed. The wantoon attack of Italy on Tripoli, the ruthless strangling of Persia by Russia, the wrongs and sufferings inflicted on British Indian citizens by the Colonists in South Africa are all detailed and discussed in the report in an admirable manner. The League has achieved much in the very short space of its existence. We doubt not that the League has before it years of service to the community. With a splendid record of services well and faithfully done, the League has the promise of a brilliant future of great and meritorious achievements for the people we love so well".

/Mrs. Besant on India/

21. Commenting on a lecture delivered by Mrs. Annie Besant, in England, recently on the "Citizenship of coloured races in the Empire", the Madras Standard, of the 16th September, remarks:- "Mrs. Besant took for her text the citizenship of the coloured races in the Empire and in her own terse way pointed out how very little of citizenship existed for the coloured peoples in the British Empire. Mrs. Besant has long been connected with India and has associated with herself in some of the greatest movements in which she is interested, the best sons of India, and it is no wonder that she cannot stand the treatment accorded to the Aryan immigrants into Africa, which is on a par with that accorded

to the African aborgines. She declared that the treatment accorded to them was simply abominable. She characterised the indentured system of labour as only a form of slavery. What else are they, she asked, when one thinks of the ways they are treated. The women are not safe, nor are the children, and property also is not safe.........Such a description of the indentured labourer in Africa can hardly be flattering to the British people whose one boast is that they have abolished slavery not only within the Empire, but also in the world. Mrs. Besant bases her plea for better treatment on the fact that the Indians are of the same race as the British. Mrs. Besant has not been taking much interest in politics and religion is her FORTE. But she seems to hold more sensible views than even Lord Crewe. 'India is a nation', she said, 'to which we must give self-government',. In her opinion the unrest of the last few years could have been spared if only the instalment or reform given afterwards had been given in time. England and India, she said, ought to be friends as both need each other for the higher development of each. Because the Indian is of a different colour it is not to be presumed that he is inferior".

/The Swadeshi Mela in Calcutta/

23. Commenting on the second session of Swadeshi Mela held in Calcutta on the 14th instant, the Indian Patriot, of the 18th September, observes:-"A wave of enthusiasm, that might well have brought to the cheek a tinge of honest shame, must have passed through Bengal last Saturday, when the Swadeshi Mela opened before their gaze the shattered remnants of an iron determination. We do not hear now-a-days so frequently of swadeshi as some years ago; when we do hear of it, it is not with the shock

that promised to sweep through one end of the country to the other and to hold before the people the green colour of the new growth of Indian industries. We were in a passion to grow great, young men caught the spirit and went to work with a will. There was a demand, a most steady and loud demand, and the supply came. But it did not come as it ought to have come. Because it did not come as it ought to have come, the swadeshi movement did not grow up to what was expected of it, and is now described, without doing damage to any heart, as fast dying. Its apparent death has not been regretted, for it was inevitable, and it is coming on slowly, almost imperceptibly.........All that Bengal enthusiasts could say to-day is: 'The success of the Mela demonstrated the fact that the swadeshi spirit was not dead. The sacrifices of the swadeshi martyrs had borne excellent fruit. The work of propagandism had been finished. They stood at the threshold of a new era. The swadeshi enterprises had not always been successful. Some did not pay dividends, while others collapsed altogether. There is not much difference between success and failure. Failure is success in its embryonic stage. They must not take failure lying down in the calm spirit of the immobile fatalist'. That represents the highest that can be said of the swadeshi movement by its admirers. But that will not satisfy the enemies of swadeshi, who pointed to it as the emblem of political danger. They were anxious for its death and they think it is dead. The organisers of the second Swadeshi Mela recalled how the first was held under official suspicion. The supporters of swadeshi desired, or ought to have desired, that they should carry aloft their child of promise over derision and suspicion. They have failed. That need not and has not discouraged the supporters of swadeshi; but that this derision and suspicion............

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have not infused into them the spirit to outlive them is to be regretted.........Those who speak of swadeshi as dead are mistaken. It is not ~~dead/only~~ dead. It can never die. It failed because those who took up the cry could use only the tongue, not the hand. The cry of swadeshi has awakened the people, shaken them to fresh activity, and within a few years educated Indian youths will pour into the country and make themselves and their country industrially great. And when they come, it will be due to swadeshi. Meanwhile a spirited appeal is made from Bengal to Indians to take up agriculture. Indians are the greatest agriculturists in the world. They know everything. They know by instinct what others learn.......We have always dwelt upon the greatness of agriculture as a profession, and if a young man can earn ten rupees a month by working on his paternal acre through the joint exertions of his wife and dependent relatives, he ought to be a happier and a worthier citizen than the graduate clerk rushing for fifteen rupees a month".

/Co-operation in national work/

24. Referring to an address delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Claude Hill, Member of the Bombay Executive Council, to the members of the Servants of India Society recently on the subject of "Co-operarion between official and non-official agencies in matters of national work" and the discussion which followed, the Hindu, of the 19th September, remarks:--"Mr. Hill's address was upon co-operation in national work, and however sympathetically he endeavoured to deal with the subject, his sentiments represent the common official view...........In any discussion of the comparative merits of the indigenous institutions and those which superseded them, the facts, now fairly well ascertained and to a great extent admitted, that the village communities were discouraged and suppressed instead of their

beind modified to suit the altered conditions, and that the attempt to establish new bodies, based on the Western system, though it was liberally conceived, was not as liberally and generously persisted in, have to be remembered. Mr. Hill's justification of official interference in self-governing bodies sounds theoretically good, but even a cursory acquaintance with the circumstances in which the executive have, in the past, interfered with municipalities, suspended them and thus visited them with punishments ought to be sufficient to show that the authorities had not sufficiently understood the principles underlying local self-governing institutions, carried away as they very often were by the supposed interests of efficiency".

(k) General.

A separate regiment for the Eurasians.

31. In commenting upon the resolution brought forward by the Hon'ble Mr. Madge in the Imperial Legislative Council advocating the formation of a separate regiment for Eurasians, the Swadesamitran, of the 13th September, observes:--While speaking on this resolution, the Hon'ble Mr. Madge expressed the hope that the Hindus, Muhammadans and other classes would not treat this as a class question and would sympathise with him in his object. If the proposal of Mr. Madge is not to be treated as a class question, we do not know how else it is to be treated. Why should there be a separate regiment for the Eurasians? Cannot any danger to the country be averted without the help of an Eurasian regiment? When there are valiant men of the stamp of the Sikhs, Rajputs, Pathans and Gurkhas, where is the necessity for a regiment of Eurasians? If the present number of sepoys in the Indian Army is found insufficient, there are a great many valiant men among ~~men~~ the Indians, who can be chosen.

It is not the Faringhees called Eurasians who helped the East India Company to establish the British Raj in India. If the British want to show their gratitude to those who helped them at that time, they should choose sepoys from among the Mahrattas, Telugus and Tamils. If the Eurasians cannot do any quiet work, the Government will be justified in spending money and giving them industrial education and not in forming a separate regiment for them. Already the Eurasians consider themselves to be a separate class, forming part of the European community, and, being proud of the fact that they are in the good graces of the Europeans, treat the Indians with scant courtesy. If the Government creates a separate regiment for them, it will only be making them more arrogant. If the Eurasians are strong and courageous, they can be enlisted in the army like other Indians. Why should there be a separate regiment for them?

32. The Kistnapatrika, of the 14th September, refers in its leading columns to the questions put

/Cash balance in the India Office./

to Mr. Montagu in the Parliament regarding the cash balance in the India Office, which has been increasing year after year, and says that the answers given to some of them by the Under Secretary were unsatisfactory while no answers ~~given to some of them by the Under Secretary were~~ were given to others at all. It asks how under such circumstances the Indian subjects can place any confidence in the actions of the India Office. It says that the India Office takes unnecessarily a large amount of money from India and lends it to English merchants at a low rate of interest without taking any security from them. When money is wanted by the Government of India, it is borrowed at a high interest fro the English merchants. The names of the English merchan

borrow Indian money are kept secret. More money is collected in the shape of taxes every year than is necessary for the cost of the Indian administration, and the excess is sent away to England. All this, says the paper, is highly prejudicial to the dignity of the India Office, which does not appear to be responsible either to the Indian subjects or the Parliament in England for their good administration. Of all countries, India, says the paper, is the poorest, and so great care ought to be exercised in spending and saving the money that is collected from the poor Indians who are in need of funds for purposes of education and for relief from famines. The Indians are hardly able to collect thirty lakhs of rupees for establishing a Hindu University. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Education Bill was rejected on the plea of want of funds. The Government are borrowing lakhs of rupees from the English merchants for building a new capital at Delhi. Under such circumstances, there is nothing more regrettable, says the paper, than that a cash balance of 66 crores of Indian money should be used for the sole benefit of English merchants. To obviate this state of affairs, the paper suggests the following measures:-

(1) The taxes in India where more is collected than is required should be reduced.

(2) The money that is improperly collected in excess should not be spent, as at present, for the benefit of certain banks in England, but ought to be expended for the good of India in India itself.

(3) The India Office should, instead of laying out the money for interest, should spend it in meeting the Indian requirements only.

33. A leader in the Manorama, of the 13th September, a

The message of Dadabhai Nowroji

noticing the chi
in Mr. Dadabh
message of hope to the people of India on his
remarks that the message should be read by

administrators of India. It is said that the message refutes the arguments that Indians are not fit for self-government and establishes by citing the instance of Mysore that self-government under the suzerainty of the British will be conducive to the prosperity of the land. The article, after giving an account of the financial prosperity of Mysore under the present dynasty, expresses the hope that self-government under the suzerainty of the British will ere long be granted and the prosperity of the country ~~augmented~~ augumented.

VI. Miscellaneous

Sir George Clarke on Swaraj for India.

39. The Swadesamitran, of the 12th September, writes:- In the course of an address to students at Poona, Sir George Clarke is reported to have said that it was madness for the Indians to hope for Swaraj and that, if India was to have swaraj, it would lead to the wiping out of all the old impressions and ideals ingrained in the minds of the Indians. We are really surprised at this statement. As Sir George Clarke is known to be favourable to the progress of the Indians, we can attribute this opinion of his only to his ignorance of the real meaning of those who demand swaraj for India. He evidently thinks that, if India attain swaraj, democracy will be the form of government in the country and that India will shake off her connection with England. Both these opinions are wrong. The Indians do not expect to have swaraj within a year or even with ten years. A country's progress is not made so swiftly. The Indians know that they should advance slowly, step by step, and it is not therefore possible to say how long it may take for swaraj to be established. The present Government should gradually try to grant political autonomy to the Provinces and retain only the power of supervision. It is only this kind of swaraj that we can think of at present and this cannot lead to the establishment of democracy in India.

40. The Kistnapatrika, of the 7th September, says that the

Racial animosity.

Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale who is in England at present wanted to go to South Africa to see with his own eyes the disabilities under which the Indians are labouring there, and applied for a first-class ticket to travel in one of the British steamers. But the company to which the steamer belonged demanded fare for a whole cabin on the ground that no European would travel with an Indian in the same cabin. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale however, would not submit to this disgrace. He fought it out and purchased the ticket, paying only a single fare. From this disrespectful behaviour of a British Company in the land of the rulers towards a educated man like the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, it cannot but be evident, says the paper, what great racial animosity there is between the Europeans and the Indians. As another instance of this racial animosity, this paper states that Indians students are not admitted into the Harrow School where military training is given. Such instances tend to falsify the pledges of British Sovereigns and statesmen and are a source of indescribable pain to the Indians. The paper concludes by suggesting that the English rulers will do well not to give room for instances of racial animosity any more.

41. A correspondent to the Kistnapatrika, of the 14th

Self-Government

September, writes as follows In the eastern countries as in the west, self-government is being established gradually, India should bear this in mind and recognise that self-government will sooner or later be established in India too, and work towards its establishment. There can be no doubt that India will form a United Federation under the suzerainty of the British Sovereign. It is the opinion of the Secretary of State that India can never have it. Greater

men than he have failed in their prophesies about the future, which is in the hands of God, in whose eyes the whole world is no better than an atom. Such being the case, can such small men ever foretell what revolutions and changes may take place in any country? It is therefore our duty to endeavour to obtain self-government soon. In doing so, we ought to be careful while at the same time we must not give up our loyalty. In obtaining self-government, our rulers themselves are showing us the right way; but that out of our blindness we do not see it is no fault of theirs. We ought to show them that we deserve self-government. We ought to go to the houses of our countrymen and acquaint them with our present disabilities, the conveniences of the people of other countries and the ways and means by which we can remove our troubles. Without agitation, the hardships of the people cannot be brought to the notice of the rulers who will not place into the hands of the people the authority which they are now exercising by the mere fact that a few educated men are representing to the rulers the grievances of the voiceless millions. This will be plain from a perusal of the histories of different countries. If the educated classes should be backed up by the people in their representations to the rulers, the latter will attach some weight to them. In the absence of such support, the concessions granted by the rulers are so many favours. With a view to lessen their cries, they confer titles and offices on the leaders and pacify them. This is not the right way. Permanent rights can never accrue to the people by such a mendicant policy. The masses should be given political education for administering the country ~~and~~ x every village should be acquainted with the financial conditio[n o]f the country, so that they may see what changes are desirable and suggest them to the rulers. If, in course of time, the people's repr... are entrusted with authority over the finances ...

x. and opportunities afforded for exercising The people b

x Should be given political education for administering the country and opportunities afforded for exercising political knowledge the people of every village

possible for us to bring about changes of any nature in the administration. We will be honoured by others only when our representatives in the Legislative Councils form the majority and exercise real power. Only then can there be no gulf separating the rulers and the ruled? Nobody a appears to have held up this ideal of Government before the people. Unless dissatisfaction with their present condition, society cannot move, but will remain like a dead body. Every District Association should sent its members to towns and villages in order to form smaller associations with Secretaries over them. They should show self-sacrifice, spend money freely and spread political knowledge among the people.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 28TH SEPTEMBER 1912.

No. 40 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

IV. Native States.

Sir William Lee-Warner on Native States.

16. Commenting on the lecture delivered by Sir William Lee-Warner at Cambridge, in August last, on the subject of "Native States in India", the Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 15th September, says:- "It is fair to Sir William Lee-Warner to acknowledge that his survey was in the main just, accurate and comprehensive. Respected and loved as some of the Native Princes have been, the fact cannot be gainsaid, said Sir William, that Native rule is autocratic in comparison with what obtains in British India..........There is truth in his suggestion that the great want in Native States is the growth of local opinion, freedom of the local press and the education of the people to take an intelligent and active interest in their own affairs. Some of the enlightened States have realised the need for a vigorous educational policy. But we are not sure that either local opinion or the local press will be very much encouraged. It so happens that most rulers of Native States, their ministers and even the British residents look to outside opinion to guide them and outside support to help them on. Even in some of the most advanced of the Native States local opinion is not only ignored but stifled and suppressed. Sir William Lee-Warner talked of the [illegible] of the local press. Sir William himself was in [illegible] Does he think that with a press law such as [illegible] a free and self-respecting press can grow [illegible]

What is the result? What ought to have been done by the Mysore press has to be done by the Madras press; and an outside press, for lack of sufficient local information, may be misled by the most powerful local faction or party. If this is the case with regard to Mysore, which is an advanced Native State, the condition of the less enlightened States can be well imagined..........Sir William Lee-Warner speaks with deprecatory vehemence of autocratic rule in Native States. He thinks that in some cases at all events the subjects of Native Princes prefer that form of government. We are afraid he has failed to grasp the facts of the situation. In British India there has been steady political progress..............Does any one think that the subjects of Native States fail to follow the progress of events in British India? Does any one really believe that they are contented with their present position, with autocratic rule, with sham councils and assemblies, with being ruled over by a few individuals without being allowed an opportunity actively to participate in the management of their own affairs? We are of those who think that in Native States the people are as anxious as their brethren in British India to secure some form of constitutional government. But they are helpless. In many a State no one with safety to himself can be a public man. He, like the press which represents him, will be made short work of by the authorities. The responsibility for this state of things lies largely at the door of the British Government. If they and their Agents in Native States follow a different policy and act in the spirit of Sir William Lee-Warner's suggestions, Native States will develop into enlightened centres of thought and activity..........If Native States have not made sufficient progress, it must be admitted that the Government have not always been wise in the choice of their representatives."

VI. Miscellaneous

18. The Indian Patriot, of the 23rd September, writes as follows:-"The article in the Times on the effect of the revival of Pan-Islamism in India, written by a correspondent in India, dwells on the various causes of uneasiness among Indian Muhammadans. The correspondent calls attention not merely to the danger, but to the necessity of relieving the tension of feeling among Muhammadans.............As we have before said, we do not apprehend any danger from Indian Muhammadans who are so generally loyal. But, as the correspondent points out, even among loyal Muhammadans there is a feeling that Britain is not doing what she can towards the maintenance of the Muhammadan States which are involved in difficulties. The policy of Britain in Persia has been very widely condemned..........Great Britain has surely failed to enforce her right and authority in Persia, and she has failed notwithstanding the danger which her failure threatens to India. Muhammadans may be prompted by Islamic feeling. But Islamic feeling does not differ from other feeling in respect of the British policy.

/The Pan-Islamic danger./

"Even without attaching any special significance to purely Islamic feeling in the matter, there is enough in the Persian situation for deep consideration of Britain's policy...........The Indian Muhammadans believe in the strength of Britain to ensure just treatment to Muhammadan States, and when Britain fails in this they naturally complain.............The idea of Muhammadans being converted to Christianity cannot be seriously entertained by any intelligent Muhammadan. But the sense of political injustice to Muhammadan States is, we may take it, real. That sense must be removed not only for the confidence of Muhammadans, but for the confidence of all Indians in the strength and purpose of Britain and for the sake of Britain's prestige;

"We may safely dismiss the so-called Afghan ambition to lead the Moslem world. Afghanistan is quite incapable of assuming such a lead, and Indian Muhammadans are the least likely to cherish any delusion of Afghan dominance among Moslems. The decline of so many Muhammadan States is deplored by all, and perhaps a little more keenly by Muhammadans. This is perfectly natural. And it behoves Britain, so far it lies in her power and is consistent with his interests, to stand for the rights of Muhammadans, Stats. When Britain having the strength refuses to employ it in a just cause, an inference is not altogether unnatural that the failure is due to indifference, if not also to some sinister reason. Her duty, therefore, is plain to exercise her right, her influence, and her authority to secure to Persia all the advantages of friendly assistance, and thus show to the Muhammadan world that she is in earnest in her defence of the just rights which she in common with Russia undertook to guarantee. The question of Tripoli is different; and Muhammadans who blame Britain for not interceding on behalf of Turkey do not realise the complexities of the situation. It is not merely a question between Italy and Turkey in which Britain can easily intercede on behalf of either. Italy has allies and friends who may be brought into the arena the moment Britain does anything on behalf of Turkey. And no State can be too careful to avoid a complication of that kind............If Muhammadans consider this well, they must recognise that Britain's attitude is exactly what she is constrained to assume in the circumstances".

that she is earnest in her defence of the just rights which she in common with Russia undertook to guarantee

The Madras Standard, of the 25th September, remarks:- "The Times publishes an article on the growth of the Pan-Islamic movement in India from a correspondent who has long had special opportunities of watching the under-currents of political and religious feeling in India and the Middle

East'; but it proceeds at once to controvert the views urged by him in the same issue. The two may be read side by side as showing the uncertain attitude of Englishmen about the strength of Pan-Islamism. The correspondent presents a lurid picture of the movement; but the Times proceeds to assure itself that it is all not as bad as it is depicted to be. Perhaps the article and the commentary on it have been written with a purpose, just to warn Moslem agitators that the British people are not unaware of the scope and object of the movement and to assure them that they are not perturbed by it. Whatever it be, Pan-Islamism has taken sufficient hold upon people to compel attention.......... The Times gives a lecture to such of the Moslems as believe that British foreign policy should be adopted according to the whims of the Moslem subjects of the Empire. 'Their anxieties about foreign affairs must be respected, their apprehensions constantly watched, their desires met whenever conditions permit; but they cannot expect to dictate the whole foreign policy of Great Britain. If they looked deeper, they would, perhaps, realize that Great Britain in India is to-day the strongest bulwark that Islam possesses' That is a lesson which Moslems in India might well bear in mind, whenever they presume too much upon the partiality of the British towards them".

The Muhammadan, of the 26th September, says:-"That the Muhammadans are loyal to the core none can deny. But grave fears seem to be now expressed as to the stability of their loyalty. It is alleged that recent events in Moslem States have produced an impression in the Moslem mind that there is a huge conspiracy among the great European Christian Powers, to sweep Moslem States off the surface of the globe. The studied policy of sub
Russia pursued by Great Britain in Persia, to
of Persia's interests, more than anything e

the Moslem mind in India. England, a great Power and a friend of the Moslems, could have, if she had only chosen, checkmated Russia's evil designs. This she has not done. Nay, she has been playing second fiddle to Russia.......... It is also hinted that Paris is the centre of Pan-Islamic activity. Moslem places of pilgrimage are said to be the rendezvous of Pan-Islamists. The whole is a huge canard, a baseless fiction. These are conjectures, which go to hit and hurt Moslem feeling throughout the length and breadth of the land. The fact of the matter is that we certainly feel for our brothers in faith. We sigh for their calamities. We weep over their ruins. We gasp and stare at the wrongs practised upon our comrades abroad. Kinship of faith makes us all wondrous kind. And we look up to England for sympathy, for words of hope, for deeds of help".

27. The Lokopakari, of the 23rd September, observes:-The

/India and the Eurasians./

Hindus are the ancient inhabitants of India. The Muhammadans orginally came as invaders and, after conquering India, settled here as permanent residents. After this the Englishmen conquered India and the Eurasians, as a class, came into existence after the Englishmen entered India. These have also now come to be the residents of India. Thus the term Indians is now applied alike to the Hindus, Muhammadans and Eurasians. As all these are the subjects of the British Government, it is incumbent upon the latter to treat them impartially. However, as the Hindus are the ancient inhabitants of India and as India is their own country, they are entitled to ask for greater privileges ~~and conf~~ from the Government than others. Next in order come the Muhammadans and then the Eurasians. But o[illegible] Government has been reversing this order in the ser[illegible]ence [illegible] granting privileges and conferring greater pr[illegible]the detriment Eurasians than on others. The majority of [illegible]lse, has unhinged officials are Eurasians. In all the Rail[illegible]

compartment is always reserved for Eurasians. None but Eurasians are admitted in the Volunteer Guards. As if all this is not sufficient, it is proposed to organise a separate regiment for Eurasians. We do not know how the Government is justified in conferring larger privileges on Eurasians, who are far below the Hindus and Muhammadans in respect of education, intelligence and several other matters.

A Muhammadan Assistant to the Secretary for Indian Students in England.

44. The Andhraprakasika, of the 21st September, says that the appointment of Mr. Mallet as Secretary for Indian Students in England was strongly objected to on the ground that he knew nothing about India. But Mr. Montagu, the Under Secretary of State for India, justified the appointment by stating that he was the only competent person for it. This paper, however, is surprised to hear that a Muhammadan gentleman was appointed to be his Assistant. If Mr. Mallet was an able person himself, asks the paper, why did he require an Assistant? If the appointment of a Muhammadan was deemed necessary, the appointment of Mr. Mallet might have been cancelled. But that has not been done. The paper regrets that Indian money is spent for unnecessary purposes.

The special privileges of Eurasians and Anglo-Indians in India.

46. Referring to a meeting held some time ago by the leaders of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian communities in India to consider measures for the promotion of education among their people, the Sarvajana Hitopakarini, of the 13th September says:-If these two communities who are so few in number are to be given such facilities as are suggested by this meeting, what facilities do the Government not owe to the sons of the

soil who number so many crores? Not that we object to the steps that the Government are taking to educate the Europeans ~~and~~ treating these people as a community apart, as a race superior to Indians. But that it should be proposed that some Government posts should be earmarked for their exclusive benefit! Already they are enjoying a monopoly ~~merchants in India naturally prefer to employ~~ of all the lucrative appointments in the railway service; and the European merchants in India naturally prefer to employ their own kith. In Government service also, some posts are about to be created for the express purpose of providing for the Anglo-Indians and Eurasians. And now, for the benefit of these communities who are already enjoying all these privileges, it is proposed to bring into being a separate army and a separate navy!

and Eurasians in India, nor that we disapprove of the Govt's. intention of

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 5TH OCTOBER 1912.

No. 41 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration

(b) Courts.

The European Defence Association and the Calcutta High Court.

3. In a leading article under the heading "The Calcutta Spirit", the Indian Patriot, of the 5th October, writes:- "The European Defence Association of Calcutta conveys to the Indian mind memories which are hardly agreeable. It had its origin in racial animosity and rancour and racial intolerance roused by a measure of Government which had for its aim the placing of Indians on the same footing as Europeans in the administration of criminal justice. This intolerance was the counterpart of that which had been evoked by an earlier measure respecting the administration of civil justice. But what had died down in one case showed itself in a virulent form in the other. Since then no change has been made in the relative status of Indians and Europeans in regard to the administration of justice; and Indians still labour under disabilities as compared with Europeans......... The Association blames the High Court for lending itself to the political intrigues of Indians and for its political bias in favour of Indians. It exhorts Europeans throughout India to unite against the political organisation of Indians which, 'if not in actual conflict, are not in sympathy with those of the European community and some of whose avowed aims are inconsistent with the maintenance of British rule in India. Only one inference is possible from all this it is that Europeans and Indians can have no common basis of action and

no common interests, and that each must organise itself if the other is not to overwhelm it.

"That is the Calcutta view, and Calcutta is anxious to propagate that view throughout India, and prevail upon the entire European community to follow the Calcutta policy. Between the European and Indian communities generally there is undoubtedly a cleavage, although there is much less of it now than before.............In a public document such accusations as it brings against the Hingh Court are to be wholly deprecated. On the strength of differences which necessarily arise between appellate and lower courts it is hardly possible to construct a theory of incompetence or bias, both of which the Association levels against the High Court".

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

16. The Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 29th September, writes:-"The correspondent who has written to the Times on Pan-Islamism is evidently an alarmist. He picks up a number of facts and a great deal of gossip and presents them in a form which is liekly to mislead the ignorant and the credulous. Doubtless Pan-Islamism is a living ideal. The Muslim-world is animated and pervaded by it. What is there astonishing or dangerous in it? The Muhammadans in Asia, Europe and Africa are united together by the tie of religion. Religion has always been a binding force. It has been the more so among Muhammadans who, in spite of their racial differences, have cultivated a feeling of brotherhood among them, which not all the changing scenes and transformations of history have destroyed or weakened.........Nobody denies that Indian Muslims have been in deep sympathy with their co-religionists elsewhere, struggling themselves to

/The Pan-Islamic danger./

maintain their freedom and that they cherish and nourish the Pan-Islamic sentiment. The white races themselves talk of their unity and power and superiority over the rest of the world's populations; and the members of the Anglo-Saxon community pride themselves ~~talk of their unity and power and superiority over the rest of the world's~~ upon their past achievements, present status and power. In England the imperialists when they speak of the Empire and its federation refer only to the self-governing colonies. Not to be out done the yellow races of the East are equally resolved to play their part in the world-drama........... The correspondent we are referring to has done one good. He has called attention to a great problem with which British statesmen have to grapple. The Times has said that the foreign policy of Great Britain cannot be shaped by its Muhammadan subjects. Its foreign policy must nevertheless be such as will ensure the peace of the world and the happiness and contentment of its own subjects of all races and of every colour and faith".

/The Anglo-Indian Regiment./

17. Referring to the resolution brought forward by the Hon'ble Mr. Madge at the last meeting of the Viceroy's Council on the subject of raising a regiment from the domiciled Anglo-Indian community, the Madras Standard, of the 2nd October, remarks:-"If, as we are afraid, a separate regiment of Anglo-Indians is to be formed, the Indian community may well look at the proposal with some misgiving. Mr. Madge claimed the right and the privilege of laying down lives for the Empire and the King, but our Anglo-Indian soldiers do not mean to do so as their Indian comrades. Even in laying down the life, as in sticking to it, they want differential treatment. They want the pay and allowances of British soldiers and they want to form an integral part of the British regiments serving in

India, and subject to the consent of the Commanding Officers of British Corps. Why this difference? They have 'domiciled' in India and why do they want the rights and privileges of those who do not want to be domiciled, who are simply exiles in India as it were? Why not they share the privations and enjoy the glories of their Indian brethren? Mr. Madge made a plea to the Indian members of the Council not to add any bitterness to the controversy that may take place outside the Council. Evidently Mr. Madge believed that the request to be paid the pay and allowances of British troops and to be treated as the British soldier was preposterous; but we do not suppose that the Indian community can allow without any protest this differential treatment to be accorded to them. It is in that view that we regret the debate was not allowed to take place, and the Indian members were not enabled to tell the Government and the Anglo-Indian community that the claim they put forward, not for the creation of regiments, but for conditions of enlistment are highly objectionable, based as they are upon racial considerations".

The Governor of Bombay and the Muslim League.

18. Referring to the reply of Sir George Clarke, Governor of Bombay, to the farewell address of the Muslim League, the Madras Standard, of the 3rd October, says:- "When officials deliver their valedictory addresses we would request them not to lay too much emphasis upon the unselfish character of their work in India.............We do not grudge a provincial satrap his salary; the labourer is worthy of his hire. But the cant of philanthropic and unselfish service which English officials are in the habit of attributing to themselves is becoming sickening, and it is time we told them so. The sermon which Sir George Clarke preached to the Muslim League on the occasion is as usual an interesting one and unconvincing as sermons usually are".

Writing on this subject the Muhammadan, of the 3rd October, remarks:-"In the course of a reply to the address presented to him at a farewell party by the Bombay Muslim League, His Excellency Sir George Clarke said:-"It should be the object of the directing heads of the Muslim League to follow events with care and to intervene with authority to prevent misconception'. It is true that we do ~~not~~ take a lively interest in Muslim States, but we use every discretion in our power in the expression of our views of affairs concerning Muslim affairs abroad.........It is quite natural that the Muslim mind should be stirred at the ghastly events that take place from day to day in Turkey, Tripoli and in Persia. Not only are the populace of Turkey or of Persia or of India the victims of ignorance of State affairs, but so are the masses of other countries too. The wanton aggression of Italy on Turkey has set the Muslim blood on fire. It is no wonder that influential meetings are held in the country to express the feeling that Turkey would lose her place in the affections of the Indian Muslims, if she should conclude a dishonourable treaty with Italy--leaving Tripoli to the tender mercies of Italy. Much as we solicit peace in the name of all that is honourable, we stoutly oppose any arrangement which would be derogatory to the Caliphate, which would leave the heroic Arabs--flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone--into the hands of the Italian marauders. Much as we appreciate England's good intentions to maintain the integrity and independence of Persia, we call upon England with all the earnestness we can command to so act as to prove herself Persia's friend in her sad hour. With nothing to cost a slur on our loyalty to the British Throne, we feel that the Muslims abroad are passing through a terrible crisis and that we owe to our brothers in faith, in whatever clime they [illegible] be, our heartiest sympathy and co-operation. We [illegible] veil over our feelings. Our heart is sound. [illegible]

are clean. We plead for justice. Will justice be denied us?"

The Indian Patriot, of the 4th October, observes:-"Sir George Clarke is not a Governor that invariably confines himself to the politics of his province. Unlike most other Governors he ventures sometimes to talk on matters which have an imperial rather than a provincial interest. Thus on ~~ideal~~ a recent occasion he freely and frankly expressed his views on the colonial ideal of self-government for India, not minding the unpopularity which he might thereby incur..........Sir George is a strong man, a straight man; and his strength and straightness have frequently brought him into conflict with sections of people who, while appreciating his general intentions and policy, were not able to accept his views in particular matters. There is in him something of what we may call the pedagogic nature. But his intentions are excellent; his aims are noble, and his opinions liberal. This seems to be well understood in Bombay, and therefore, even when he expresses disagreeable views, people understand him...........Sir George has spoken very often as a candid friend. The same role he assumed when he spoke to the Muslim League.........The leaders of the Muslim League, though they started in antagonism to the Congress, have more and more fallen into line with it; and so far as acquisition of political rights and privileges is concerned, the Muslim League now stands on the same platform as the Congress. The advance of political thought has been steady and rapid; and we may hope that, in time, there will be a complete harmonisation of aim in all respects. The ideal of self-government set forth by the Congress is not less the ideal of the League...........Our forecast of the future is not that the British will give place to the Indian but that there will be the fullest association of Britis

Britishers and

and Indians in the Government of the country, without the feeling that they are different in their relation to the Government. That is the highest aim we can pursue; and if it is attained, we shall have reached a stage of perfect political content............However true it may be that the elective system does not always secure the best representative men, it is in some measure affords a better representation of public opinion than the choice, however carefully made, of Government. The responsibility being left to the people themselves of returning their representatives, if they do not exercise their responsibility well, no blame can attach to the Government; and with the widening of the franchise and increasing representation, there must necessarily come into the Council those influential elements in the community which constitute the real force in legitimate opposition. In this respect we have undoubtedly progressed and are progressing; and the greater the strength of public opinion in the Councils the smaller will be the chances of the Government making mistakes in disregard of Indian opinion and feeling".

//Pan-Islamism in India.//

20. The Indian Patriot, of the 5th October, has the following:- "Something is seriously exercising the minds of Muhammadans, and whether it is described as due to ignorance or fanaticism, the green truth stares in the face that a large section of the Indian population is agitated over the impending destruction, as they believe it, of Turkey. The mind that can go forth in one spontaneous bound to the Sultan of Turkey in his present struggles is not one which can be ignored, and the significance of the attitude cannot be explained away either as Pan-Islamis or religious fanaticism. The movement in Calcutta t public meeting, the organisation to devote on Fri

prayers in the mosque, the arrangement to place in the hands of every follower of the prophet a true description of the clouds that have gathered over Turkey and threaten to extinguish it as a Power, are the signs of no unimportant feeling. Muhammadans in India are following with the keenest interest the developments in Europe which make up a threat to Turkey as a Power............Muhammadans form a large section of the population of the British Empire,. and it is but right that, in any development of its foreign policy, due consideration should be given to Muhammadan feelings. If Ulster could do so much without being thought seditious, or without inducing the Government to take any measures to indicate that the Government think that it is seditious, and if the attitude of Ulster could have such a large influence over a powerful Government, pledged to Irish progress, it is but right that the attitude of the millions of its Muhammadan subjects should leave an abiding mark on the views of the Government. In their hour of trial and sorrow, Muslim India claims the sympathy of their Government and their Hindu brethren, and the hour of sorrow is not the hour to taunt them with ignorance".

II. Home Administration.

(b) Courts.

An attack upon the Judges of the Calcutta High Court.

21. The Swadesamitran, of the 28th September, writes:- There is an association in Calcutta, which has been established with the object of safeguarding the interests of the Europeans in India. As the Europeans here do not often suffer any hardship at the hands of the Government, this association has practically very little business to do. However, it has taken advantage of the reversal, by th[e Privy] Council, of the decision of the Calcutta High Cou[rt ...] damages against Mr. Clarke and some Police offic[ers ...]

submit a memorial to the Government regarding the present constitution of the Calcutta High Court. In this memorial it is pointed out that the Barrister-Judges of this High Court are not capable men, that this Court has now lost its old prestige and reputation and that it has become a tool in the hands of the anarchists, and it prays that the Government should make an enquiry about this matter and appoint really capable Barristers as Judges of this Court. A certain English paper suggests that capable Barristers will be available for being appointed as Judges, only if they are paid Rs.60,000 a year and allowed to continue in service until they complete their 65th year. We do not know if the merit of the Judges will increase with the amount of salary paid to them. For aught we know, the Indians have no reason to be dissatisfied with the Barrister-Judges of the Calcutta High Court. Even among Englishmen we do not think all of them share the views expressed in the memorial referred to above. The High Court is again charged with having caused unnecessary delay in the case brought against Mr. Clarke and others. The period that elapsed between the date on which this case was begun in the Calcutta High Court and the date on which the Privy Council gave its decision is roughly three years and six months. But the High Court was not responsible for all this delay; because, nearly two years and two months were wasted by the Government and the Privy Council, and about four months were spent in communications passing between England and India. So, the Calcutta High Court is responsible for the delay of only one year, and, in civil cases, it is nothing strange for an original trial and the appeal thereon to take one year to be finished.

VI. Miscellaneous

37. In a leader under the heading "Vande Mataram", the Kalameghan, of the 23rd September, says:-Several people

/Vande Mataram./

think that the prosperity of our country is due to its connection with the Westerns, while some are of opinion that this country has suffered in many ways on account of its contact with the West. Several people sing the praise of the divine British Government, while some point out that this Government has brought with it poverty, brandy bottles, showy civilisation and false articles. The English statesmen dwell upon the development of science, while the wise deplore the decadence of art. A few are glad that hat and boot, spoon and fork, and beef and pork have spread in the country, while many declare that wisdom and peace have left the land and suffering has begun. Some say that there was much of cruelty during the Muhammadan rule, and that it has disappeared in the British regime.. But India was never begging for its food when the Muhammadans were ruling the country. There was neither famine nor plague then. The Indian money never went out of the country. Then again many Muhammadan women were wedded to Hindu husbands and several Hindu damsels became the queens of Muhammadan sovereigns. There was no distinction of colour at all. The wise Emperor, Akbar, regarded the Hindus and Muhammadans as his two eyes and the country prospered under his benign regime. O Mother! Even now, this country will be prosperous only if these two communities realise that they are the children of the same mother and work in co-operation with each other for their common benefit. So, let us, Hindus, regard the woes of the Muhammadans as our own and pray to God that Turkey, which is now undergoing severe trials, will soon come out victorious.

The prejudice of officials against Brahmans.

40. Referring to a recent regulation debarring the coloured races from practising the legal and other kindred professions in America, the Sadhvi, of the 1st October, writes:- In India too a similar prejudice prevails against Brahmans. Some officials, when advertising vacancies in their offices, expressly say that non-Brahmans only need apply. It is highly

desirable that these officials should give up their prejudices and go, as far as possible, according to merit, without distinction of caste, creed or colour.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 12TH OCTOBER 1912.

No. 42 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NNATIVES.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

9. Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 6th October, observes:- "The Public Service Commission has to enquire into the system of recruitment for the higher branches of the Indian Service. The Indian public could not so easily have forgotten the resolutions passed, two or three years ago and even later, at various public meetings, to the effect that, so long as Indians were treated as undesirable aliens in British self-governing colonies, no colonist should be allowed to compete for entrance into the Indian Service. Of course the term 'boycott' has a bad odour about it. But if the colonies could boycott Indians on the ground of their colour, India has a perfect right to treat the colonists likewise........ For decades together the Indian settlers in South Africa have been crying in the wilderness without a response, and we are not sanguine even now, in spite of the promises made by the Union Government that the grievances of our brethren in that region will be redressed to their satisfaction. Under these circumstances the people of India should demand the exclusion in future of the colonials from their Government. It has been suggested by an arm-chair critic that as the question is of a political nature it is not advisable

/The Public Service Commission./

to raise it at this stage. There is no question affecting mankind, which cannot be classed under the political category. The appointment of the Public Service Commission itself is a concession to an obviously political demand. It is therefore necessary that every Indian witness who has to give evidence before Lord Islington's Commission should deal with the subject in his memorandum and press it on him and his colleagues".

/Simultaneous examinations.//

11. In a leading article on this subject the Indian Patriot, of the 12th October, writes: "The process of killing agitation by masterly inactivity has been successfully employed in regard to the demand for the institution of simultaneous competitive examinations in England and India for the Civil Service. ~~institution of simultaneous competitive examinations in England and India for the Civil Service~~.............Up to this moment the general question of admitting Indians to higher offices has remained where it was so far as the Civil Service is concerned. Indeed, some concession was made in 1880 when the Statutory Civil Service was instituted. But this proved largely disappointing owing to the manner in which appointments ~~ma~~ were made. Indian politicians, however, made a first-class mistake when they wholly denounced it as a failure. They denounced it in the hope of getting something better; and when the Public Service Commission had finished its enquiry, the Statutory Service stood hopelessly condemned.............To certain high offices Indians have been since admitted, and under Lord Morley a better recognition of Indian claims has been realised. But this does not remedy the injustice of which Indians have complained for more than half a century. Equal privileges and equal opportunities for employing those privileges are alike demanded. On one side simultaneous examinations in India

~~AND~~ and England are the chief means whereby it is hoped Indians will get admission on fair conditions into the Civil Service. But on the other side simultaneous examinations are opposed in the fear that the Civil Service will be flooded with Indians if its possibilities. Neither the Indian hope nor the English fear is well founded. It is a delusion that with simultaneous examinations Indians will succeed in ~~permitted~~ large numbers. No doubt, some Indians will succeed who, if circumstances permitted, would go to England and succeed. But their number cannot be large. It is the idea of many Englishmen that Indians are particularly clever at passing examinations. But look at the number of Indians who have failed in the examination in England, and remember that only youths of a high standard of intelligence are sent to England for the Civil Service examination............The education of an English boy is much more systematic and perfect; and his training and equipment in English public schools and universities are far superior to those of an Indian youth educated in India. We do not, therefore, expect much from simultaneous examinations; but simultaneous examinations will remove a cause of complaint and a sense of deliberate injustice which Indians feel".

x they are examined in India. On both cases there is an estimate of

VI. Miscellaneous.

Labour for Assam tea estates.

13. In a leader on this subject the Hindu, of the 7th October, writes:-"Tea planters in Assam are reviving their spurious agitation to re-open the question of Indian labour for Assam, and the legitimate representations made to the Local Government by public bodies in regard to this matter would appear to have embittered them not a little. Nothing could be further from the truth than the statement of the Surma Valley Correspondent of the Capital that down in

Cocanada and Madras they have petitioned Government to put a stop to Indian recruiting as it interfered with Colonial recruiting. The planters ask for full freedom to recruit labour from any part of India through their servants, like recruiters from other parts of the world. They content that if Jamaica, Fiji and Trinidad, which enforce penal conditions of a repulsive character, are allowed to recruit labour in this country, the scope of their enterprise should not have been restricted in India to particular areas only...............The planters proclaim that Assam is a popular place for coolies, once, they are settled there and that they cannot imagine why Local Governments should put restrictions in the way of people going to that province..........How far the milk of kindness is full to overflowing in Assam tea gardens may be gathered from the following generous suggestion thrown out to Government for consideration. Government is asked to legislate that people suffering from famine and to whom relief is being granted should be translated to another part of the country (Assam?) where they could work for their living. If that were done, it is pointed out, Government would be relieved of the huge task in the way of relief works, the country as a whole would be spared the cost of feeding helpless people and a deserving industry would be strengthened and enlarged by having an adequate supply of work-people. Yet, it is for effectuating such beneficent work that people are recruited under penal contract on payment of fees which have risen gradually from Rs.90 to Rs.200 per head........ Fraud, abduction of married women and young persons, wrongful confinement, intimidation and actual violence which were for a long time the characteristic features of Assam Labour recruitment have since subsided to a large extent by the vigilant watchfulness of the Magistracy and the

Police. But in regard to the position and lot of the cooly in gardens themselves, we need only quote the words of Sir Mampfylde Fuller himself, the friend and favourite of the planters, who has described the condition of tea coolies as that of beasts is a menagerie.......... In Assam, the death-rate from fever is nearly 52 per cent. of the total number of deaths from all causes. Thousands of coolies are subject to this fell disease. In some years, the death-rate among indentured coolies of all classes had averaged 53 per thousand, and that among adults in the prime of life. Yet, some of the tea estates care more for their profits than the health of the coolies working in their gardens..........Vested interests still want a penal Act. They say they are willing to let Act VI of 1906 go, but they want to get something in return. No legalised bondage ought to be permitted in British India when the Government are evincing so much anxiety to stop or at least reduce the rigorous and enslaving system of indentured labour in the colonies".

VI--Miscellaneous.

The European Defence Association of Calcutta.

33. The Swadesamitran, of the 7th October, writes:-We have already stated that there is an association in Calcutta called the European Defence Association. It was not very active till now. But it has now appealed for funds to the Europeans and Eurasians living permanently in India, with the object of strengthening its own position. We have no objection to this community having an association of its own like the Hindus and the Muhammadans and, by means of it, getting all that it wants from the Government. But this association in Calcutta never does anything without casting aspersions upon other communities in the country.

In its appeal for funds, it says (1) that, if the Europeans alone keep quiet, while the Hindus and Muhammadans are establishing associations for expressing their political opinions and acquiring many benefits from the Government, they will soon lose their strength and influence, (2) that these Indian Associations will not view the questions affecting the Europeans with sympathy and (3) that some of them will be working against the stability and prosperity of the British rule in India. We will attribute this statement only to the ignorance and racial arrogance of this association. Have the Hindu and the Muhammadan associations demanded anything from the Government till now, which is contrary to the interests of Europeans? What evidence is there to prove that these associations are working against the stability and prosperity of the British rule? There is no doubt that it is nothing but the arrogance of being entitled to special favour at the hands of Government that has emboldened this association to call in question the wisdom and loyalty of the Hindus and Muhammadans.

35. The Sarvajana Hitopakarini, of the 10th October, writes as follows:-In order to establish more cordial relations between the Europeans and Indians in this country, the District Collectors in the Bombay Presidency are now holding Durbars from time to time by means of which they come in contact with the leading citizens of their district and thus ascertain the wants and wishes of the people. The Hindus as well as the Muhammadans, when they were the ruling race, had similarly realised the value of taking the subject-people into their confidence in all matters and had formed various devices for creating opportunities of freely mixing with them. If the numerous Europeans who come to India should similarly condescent to come in contact with the people and cease to appear conscious of their own exalted position, it is needless to point out what immense good will result to the country therefrom.

The attitude of the Europeans towards Indians.

FOR THE WEEK ENDING 19TH OCTOBER 1912.

No. 43 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

VI. Miscellaneous

The Muhammadan mass meeting in Madras.

17. The following appears in the Muhammadan of the 17th October:-"The terrible earnestness and the downright sincerity of the Indian Mussalmans in their sympathy towards their brethren in Turkey was witnessed at the mass meeting held on the grounds of the South Indian Athletic Association. No surer proof of the Indian Mussalman unity of feeling with Turkey could there be than the monster meeting of yesterday-- where there swept a wave of enthusiasm such as had never been witnessed before. Whatever be his faults--faults he has which are incidental to humanity--sincerity is the certain mark of a Muslim, true and pure. Deep down in a Muslim's being there is the fire and force of sincerity. The motor force of Our Great Prophet which defied a whole Arabia, which braved torments and gibbets, which defied a thousand arms of hate from Mecca to Medina, and which broke the idols of Caabah--that force--that sincerity of faith and action--still lives in the heart of the Mussalman. Centuries will come and go. Through all the noons of successes and all the nights of failures, the Muslim heart has remained sound. The bond of union in faith, with the Muslim, is not an airy word nor a futile boast. It is a living reality. With undying faith in Providence, the Muslim will dare and do all that becomes a man--in the unquenchable spirit of brotherhood. Yesterday we witnessed thousands of men in congregation, moved by a holy passion of sympathy for Turkey in anguish.

Men felt and wept. Overcome by feelings, men forgot all the claims and sophistries of self for the good and welfare of thousands in agony afar. A bright little youth--barely ten years old--fired with a passion of sympathy parted with his scent box--all that he owned--for the Turkish aid. A gentleman from Hyderabad spoke in fiery eloquence on Turkey's behalf and gave away his fez and shawl as his only mite for the funds of the Red Crescent Society. Thrilling speeches were made; from end to end subscriptions poured--that was a meeting which would be kept green in the memory of men. The sight of a Hindu gentleman pleading sympathy for Turkey is ennobling, the Hindu and the Muslim feel for each other in distress. Whatever be the differences we thank and welcome sympathy from our Hindu brethren. We met in thousands. We acquitted ourselves as Mussalmans. And we rejoice over it".

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

34. The Aftab-i-Dakham, of the 3rd (received 14th) October, extols the British administration in India

The benefits of the British rule in India.

in the following terms:--The British Government, although a foreign one, has gained such extensive power and popularity within a very short space of time as has not fallen to the lot of any Native Government. Even Akbar the Great cannot equal the British Government in this respect, and hence it is that not only its native servants of light and learning but also its poorest and illiterate subjects regard it as an unexpected boon for this country.

The editor thinks that the power and popularity are due to the sword but to the establishment by it of such peace and tranquility as had never been known previou to its regulations for the dispensation of even-hand justice, to the adoption as a duty of the principle

according equal treatment without distinction of caste and creed and to the religious toleration.

Previous to the British Raj dacoits used to attack the country from without and there were internal disputes. Wives were wrested from their husbands openly and children were separated from their parents. Not to speak of property.

But all this has been put down. Look at its law. It does not exempt even the Legislature from its operation. Their Imperial Majesties and the Courts of Justice respect it. It is owing to this law that even the poorest could assert their rights against the richest and also against the Government. No rich man can do any harm to the poor or even to his own servant. If such a law had not been passed many innocent girls would have been murdered, many widows would have been burnt, many poor and helpless people would have become a prey to the oppression of the powerful. It is on account of this law that many low-born and weak people exist and have the means and opportunities for making progress in life.

The editor, in regard to the complaint that justice in British Courts is becoming expensive and that it is owing to this that the poor cannot take advantage of it, says that this is due to "our" brethren alone who are in the Police or other departments. These men intervene between justice and the poor and thus unjustly bring the courts and the law into contempt.

The editor concludes the article with the remark that the Government which possesses such qualities will suffer no harm till the judgment day.

May God keep our British Empire safe for ever!

VI. Miscellaneous.

39. The Andhraprakasika, of the 12th October, states that a European officer holding a high appointment in the Salt department halted, while on a tour of inspection, at the head-quarters of a taluk, and while addressing a Circle Inspector in whose work he found some defects, he called him names and spoke in a manner that would wound the feelings of Brahmans. The paper is at a loss to know who taught him to look upon Hindus, especially Brahmans, with contempe. Most Indians mistake the actions of individual European officers for the actions of the Government, and so long as such officers are allowed to behave contemptuously towards Indians, there can be no end to the misgivings of the Indians. The paper urges that the rulers should lay down rules for the guidance of their European subordinates when dealing with the Indians and see that those rules are closely followed.

/Europeans and Indians./

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 26TH OCTOBER 1912.

No. 44 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration.

(b) Courts.

6. The Muhammadan, of the 21st October, remarks,--"There can be but one feeling in the country to-day, and that is, the feeling of sympathy towards Mr. C. Arnold who was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment in a defamation case by Sir Charles Fox, the Chief Judge who presided at the special sessions in the Chief Court of Rangoon. Mr. Arnold has two-fold claims on us. First, he is the sone of Sir Edwin Arnold, the renowned author of the Light of Asia. Secondly, since his arrival in Burma as the editor of the Rangoon Times, nearly four years ago, he has shown himself to be one of / with the aspirations of the Indians. When his period of contract with the Rangoon Times was over, he became the part proprietor of the Burma Critic and it was in that capacity that he wrote the article that became the subject matter of the complaint".

The conviction of Mr. Arnold.

there few Anglo-Indians who hold independent views and who sympathise

Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 23rd October, says:-"The Chief Court of Burma is at the present basking in the limelight, though whether the Honourable Judges of that Court appreciate the remarks that have been levelled at them is rather doubtful. The savage sentence inflicted upon Mr. Arnold in the Burma Critic case has brought out into unpleasant relief the fact that in Burma justice can border

~~on the vindictive. From their~~

on the vindictive. From their report on the administration of criminal justice in 1911, it would appear as though the Judges of the Chief Court held no very clear ideas as to judicial administration. In the report aforesaid they write as follows:-"The growing separation of judicial and executive functions as by the creation of Session and Divisional Judges and by the appointment of a large number of additional Magistrates has had a material effect upon the increase in the number of acquittals and discharges as well as upon the growing difference between the number of cases decided and the number reported as true, inasmuch as officers who have been trained in purely judicial methods and spend a large portion of their time in trying civil cases are inclined, as it is alleged, to lay the burden of proof too heavily upon the prosecution. Moreover, they are not burdened with any responsibility for the state of crime in the district in which they are serving, they have none of that inner knowledge of crimes and criminals possessed by an executive officer and they are not in close touch with the work of the Police. These remarks are made in no sense depreciatory of the work of either of the branches of the service; but indicate rather the necessity for their further separation. A further consideration is that evidence taken by the Police is naturally less rigid, less bound by the provisions of the Evidence Act than the statements of the witnesses recorded by a Magistrate: hence, too, perhaps a tendency on the part of the former to send up cases for trial before they have been sufficiently investigated with a view to ensure strict legal proof of the offence'. It is difficult to say exactly what the Judges mean in the above passage and what their conclusion is. The separation of judicial and executive functions is no doubt a subject of controversy with Anglo-Indians, but the Judges quoted above do not seem to know their own minds on the matter".

The Cochin Argus, for the week ending 26th October, observes:-"We, for our part, are satisfied, from the reports which have come to hand, that Mr. Arnold was actuated by the purest and most disinterested motives and that his comments on the McCormic case were not the outcome of the slightest personal bias against any one............If there should happen to be anything like genuine public opinion in Burma, we feel certain it will assert itself unmistakably on behalf of Mr. Arnold, and we consider that the regrettable case is one in which public money should be raised on behalf of an English gentleman and journalist who has stood up nobly to defend the liberty of the individual as well as to insure the fair name of British administration".

VI--Miscellaneous.

The Indian Muhammadans and the war.

16. The following appears in the Cochin Argus for the week ending 26th October:-"It would be idle to deny that the entire Muslim world, from China to North Africa, from Central Asia to Cape Comorin, has been increasingly stirred by the events which have affected Turkey during the past decade. The revolution in Turkey itself, the trouble in Yemen, the annexation by Austria of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Spanish and French troubles in Morocco, the nationalist agitation in Egypt and the Turco-Italian war have all had their disturbing effects on the impressionable Muslim mind, and now there has come the long-threatened Balkan conflagration, which Muhammadans all over the world will naturally look upon primarily as an attack upon their religion and by no means as a heroic attempt on the part of the Balkan States to end the persecution and sufferings of the Christian races in Macedonia. It is very evident that this latest trouble that has be fallen Turkey is producing considerable

restlessness among Indian Muhammadans, who are everywhere holding indignation meetings and subscribing liberally towards Turkish Red Crescent and other funds........... No one can deny the right of the Indian Muhammdans to sympathise with Turkey, and, in doing so, to go even the length of taking the advice of His Highness the Aga Khan, the great Khoja leader, that, pending Turkey's calamities, they should suspend all other activities, including their university project, and concentrate their thoughts and energies on the problem of how best to succour Turkey. But it is the height of folly to be making frantic appeals to Great Britain to go to the help of Turkey. This matter, unfortunate as it is, is Turkey's own, and, under present circumstances, Great Britain is bound, by internal agreements, to preserve an attitude of neutrality...........Indian Muhammadans would do well to realise that, by making impossible demands, they can achieve no other result than that of placing the power that rules them in an embarrassing position. After the announcement that His Majesty King George has signed the Declaration of Neutrality, we hope we shall hear no more of Indian Muhammadan appeals to Great Britain to meddle in other people's affairs".

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 2ND NOVEMBER 1912.

No. 45 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration

(b) Courts.

The Conviction of Mr. Arnold

3. The Indian Patriot, of the 28th October, writes:- " To every journalist, with a high sense of responsibility and a circle of sympathisers larger than caste or religion, the rallying of popular feeling to Mr. Arnold of the Burma Critic encouragement. Mr. Arnold had his own reason to think that a serious miscarriage of justice had been committed, in a case in which on one side was a poor helpless girl of twelve and her mother, and on the other side a European planter..........Public sympathy is Mr. Arnold's, because the public know that there were sufficient grounds in the case for a large mind of righteous feelings to be unduly exercised...........Mr. Arnold had nothing to gain by defaming Mr. Andrew, and when he flew furiously at the Civilian, he had more the picture of the ruined girls than the downfall of a rising Civilian in mind. It is this aspect that has appealed to the public, and this aspect must go far to palliate in the eyes of the Government the offence of Mr. Arnold". ×

as evidenced by the public meetings held at Rangoon is of great encourage.

In publishing the summing up of the Chief Justice of the Burma Chief Court, to the jury, in the case against Mr. Arnold, editor of the Burma Critic, the Hindu, of the 31st October, says:--"A more one-sided and irregular summing up could not

have been delivered. The learned Judge seems to have taken as strong a view of the case against the accused as possible, and he impressed his own judgment against the ~~accused as possible~~, ~~and he impressed his own judgment~~ and he impressed his own judgment against the accused on the points involved in the case upon the jury who were given very little light and guidance as regards the points which may be urged in favour of Mr. Arnold. The Judge's summing up appears to us to be a clear case of mis-direction to the jury and has led to a grave miscarriage of justice. The jury's verdit of guilty stands vitiated by the misdirection on the part of the Judge and his final act of sentencing Mr. Arnold to one year's imprisonment has aroused the indignation of right-thinking and justice-loving men in the country whether they are journalist or not. The movement started in Burma in favour of Mr. Arnold has our hearty sympathy, and we have no doubt it will be widely supported in this country".

Growing exasperation of the Indian Moslems.

27. The Madras Standard, of the 1st November, observes:--"The feeling of the Moslems in India seems to have been much perturbed over the war that is going on now and news from the scene of war is anxiously awaited by every Muhammadan, and it is natural that they should be so disturbed, considering the continued misfortunes of the Sultan. But the attitude of the Dacca Muhammadans who declaim not only against the Christian belligerents but against all the Christian powers is, to say the least, exciting much comment. The Muhammadans of Dacca, which is an important seat of the Moslims, consider the work of the Red Crescent Society, which is raising large funds in Calcutta and elsewhere, as only an object of admiration..........They hurl their grievance that the British are not taking any active steps for the protection of the leading Moslim Power in the world and have no hesitation in accusing the British of aloofness. In their

eyes, it seems, the inevitable silence of the Englishmen appears like complicity with the Christian belligerents.' But, with all this activity around, we are astonished to hear that Nawab Sir Salimoolah Bahadur of Dacca should issue an edict forbidding his followers to show any sympathy for Turkey by either collecting funds for the Red Crescent Society or even offering prayers in the mosques. This reads more like an Arabian Night's Tale than a real fact, in view of the growing spirit of Pan-Islamism. But, we understand, that, though the astounding news is said to be true, we must take it with a grain of salt. They are again said to turn to Kabul for substantial help to Turkey ....What we wish to point out to our Moslim friends in India is to consider the position of the British in the present war. The British have to rule millions of Moslems and they are as a consequence called 'the Lord of Islam'. But Great Britain has to consider many things and her hands are bound down by treaties with other Powers. Her diplomats could not take any decided action with a view to prevent the war or to take to the offensive in favour of Turkey. Even now we believe that Sir Edward Grey is doing something to bring to an end the war, which is greatly taxing the European diplomats. Hence the one safe and sound policy of the Indian Moslims would be to take a more sympathetic attitude towards Great Britain and her action, and they should see everything with an unsuspicious eye. We sympathise with Indian Moslims in their attitude towards Turkey, and would impress on their minds the necessity of adopting a less impatient attitude towards Britain".

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 9TH NOVEMBER 1912.

No. 46 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration.

(b) Courts.

/The conviction of Mr. Arnold./

3. Referring to the summing up of the Chief Justice of the Burma Chief Court, to the Jury, in the case against Mr. Arnold, editor of the Burma Critic, the West Coast Spectator, of the 2nd November, says:--"A more one-sided, ill-tempered and unsympathetic charge to the Jury could not be conceived. The Judge has carefully suppressed all points in favour of Mr. Arnold. In fact the charge reads more like prosecuting counsel's address to the Jury than a Judge's impartial and fair summing up. The Jury have clearly been misdirected, and that being the case, the verdict cannot be accepted as meeting the ends of justice. The Judge gave the finishing touch by inflicting on Mr. Arnold the draconic punishment of a year's simple imprisonment. No wonder the whole business has created the greatest astonishment and indignation, and there is a movement on foot, in which all sections of the public have participated, for carrying the matter before a higher tribunal. Those who have closely followed the proceedings in the Chief Court cannot help forming the idea that there has been a clear miscarriage of justice. We need hardly say that the sympathies of the public are with Mr. Arnold who tried, according to his lights, to uphold the fair name of British justice and honour and to protect the weak from the strong".

(k) General.

10. In an article under the heading "Beware of Politics", the People's Weekly, for the week ending 2nd November writes:--"We have heard ad nauseam why school-boys should not have anything to do with politics. In like manner why should not the Government officials--both on the active and on the pensioned list--be required to keep themselves severely aloof from politics. Of course each of them in his own way and to a limited extent tries to act politics; but should they take upon themselves the supernumerary work of talking politics which may be conveniently left to the people themselves and their representatives. We venture to make this suggestion only with special reference to the present political condition of India. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sadasiva Aiyar is generally very outspoken and his opinions are highly valued for their sincerity. His legal and theosophical attainments may be of a high order; but these in themselves will not entitle him to speak with authority on the current political questions of India. In his presidential address delivered at the recent Nellore Social Conference he is reported to have touched upon Indian politics a little and given expression to views which cannot claim our assent..........Mr. Sadasiva Aiyar's advice to the Indian politicians and their followers practically amounts to this: that they should give up altogether their present method of work, which is altogether mistaken and begin anew the building up of Indian nationality on a religious basis. In short the National Congress should be deserted to swell the ranks of the Thesophical Society. That is the sum and substance of his advice. How far that would be a desirable consummation may be left for our readers to judge. Then, again,

Government servants and politics.

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he seems to have had a fling at those who are toiling for the change of the present Indian bureaucratic administration into an autonomous one. 'The worship of autonomy and the dislike of discipline are, I know, the faults of this age, and I do not wish to encourage these faults in young men by any words of mine'. We do not see any necessity why in an address on social reform 'autonomy' should be made the subject matter of comment, much less of ridicule. A criticism like this only shows the want of a widened outlook in the speaker. He, as a subordinate official, may brand it as a fault; but if it were a fault, would the Government of India themselves have moved, however slowly and imperceptibly, in that direction"?

Indians in South Africa.

12. Writing on this subject under the heading "The Emigration Scandal," the Indian Patriot, of the 7th November, observes:--"While the silvery lines of hope cast streaks on a palting imagination because of the presence of the Hon'ble Mr. Ghokale in South Africa, particulars of sufferings and humiliations to which our countrymen are subjected come with rude force to set in gloom again. One such particular is about Mr. C.B. Mehta, who is one of the best known Indians of Durban. His wife died recently leaving two young children, needing a mother's care. Mr. Mehta, accordingly, wrote to the Immigration officer informing him of his approaching departure to India and of his intention to re-marry in India and return with his wife, the officer insultingly replied counselling Mr. Mehta to furnish him with unmistakeable proof that the lady, whom Mr. Mehta intends to marry and bring back to Natal with him, is in fact his wife, and that he has no other in this province.' Then follow the particulars of the abominable circular............Mr. Mehta is advised, amongst other things, to submit his wife's thumb impressions,

together with a certificate to the effect that police inquiries have been made and that they have shown that the marriage has actually been contracted. This is an insult to Indians, and yet the Indian Government will not take any step. This instance will settle down the much-torn hearts of the whole Indian nation, for the whole country is exercised, as it has never been exercised, over this question. Had a subject of Japan been treated as Mr. Mehta has been treated, even if Japan may not take any extreme step of direct expostulation, pressure will be brought to bear upon the Government of South Africa to be more considerate to the feelings of Japanese subject. Mr. Mehta's case illustrates only the heartlessness of the African Government towards any nation of India, be he educated or influencial............In the attitude of the Government of India in continuing the system of slavery the people see a gulf that separates the feelings of the Government and the feelings of the people. A self-governing India will not endure such humiliation; a State that loves its subjects and has a high conception of its duty and has self-respect will not permit its subjects to serve as slaves outside, not to say, will not allow a foreign Government to grind their subjects down. If it is more humane to shoot a horse that is suffering from a disease that cannot be cured--one school of thought has risen in America to advocate the killing of a man who is miserable from an incurable disease--it will form part of a humanitarian policy to shoot down the emigrant about to sail from Indian ports rather than permit the ignorant folk to fall into the hands of unfeeling masters who cannot believe that human hearts like theirs beat beneath black skins".

The Madras Mail and Moslem feeling.

22. The Muhammadan, of the 4th November, writes:-"To hit the Moslem, and hit him forcibly, our contemporary of the Madras

Mail, in commenting on aspects of the war in its issue of the 1st instant, expresses its concern for the 'unfortunate' form which the sympathy for Turkey takes in India, just now. The unfortunate incidence is ascribed to ignorance. Well may our contemporary glory in its illuminating power. Expressing sympathy with Turkey's present plight, and condemning the aggressive attitude of the confederacy, the Mail takes special care to tell its readers that Turkey pays its tribute to retribution to-day for her shocking misdeeds in the past. We have no quarrel with the Mail. Well may it hold the opinion it has formed as regards the genesis of the war. Holding as the Mail does that the confederacy does not fight really for freedom, but takes vengeance on Turkey unawares, how is it that it falls foul of those who feel and write in the interest of Turkey? Conceal it how you may, the fact still peers into prominence, that the confederacy is a persona grata with the Great Christian Powers. The Moslems have never failed to acknowledge that England is a great Moslem Power, and that in consequence, she feels--subject, of course, to the conditions and limitations of international politics of Europe--for Turkey. But what the Indian Moslem humbly protests is:Could not England defy an unrighteous conspiracy--to bring it down on its knees--for a sacred cause? To strive and labour on behalf of an aggrieved party, to plead and protest, in the name of justice and humanity--never mind if there be a hundred odds--is the symbol and the substance of a commanding power. England--the foster-mother of liberty--who broke the fetters of the slave, should, we plead and protest, fling aside her reticence, and make herself felt by the petty States in conspiracy against Turkey. As a candid critic of the Turkish situation the Mail, we thought, would view with sympathy the surging feelings of the Moslems in India for the bleeding Caliphate.

The Mail speaks of the first and the most important phase of the war--but has it extended its vision to the coming events, and taken a survey of all that is to be? Why should the Mail be 'astonished' at the 'unfortunate' forms which human sympathy takes at the sight of unmerited sufferings from wanton wrongs? Even in her fall--May God forbid--Turkey could challenge admiration for having pressed with her lance against a host of foes".

VI. Miscellaneous.

45. The Swadesamitran, of the 1st November, says:--The Secretaries of the Indian Ministers' Conference appear to have received a communication from the Government of India intimating that the words "Native Christian" will be replaced by the words "Indian Christian" in the Census Report, wherever possible. The appellation of "Natives" has long been considered by the Indians to be derogatory to them. The term is usually applied to foreigners living in unknown corners of the word, without any specific name, and it is not fair to give the same appellation to Indians who were a civilised people long before the British. We are glad that the Government has begun to realise the necessity of replacing the word "Native" by the word "Indian". If the Government issues definite orders to this effect, the Railway Companies and other Englishmen also will give up the habit of calling Indians as "Natives". We hope the Government of India will soon pass final orders upon this subject.

The words "Native" and "Indian".

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 16TH NOVEMBER 1912.

No. 47 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

VI. Miscellaneous.

Indian Moslems and the Turkish War.

9. The West Coast Spectator, of the 9th November, writes:- "We are afraid that a certain section of the Mussalman community is creating an unnecessary fuss about the Turkish war. This section seems to think that Turkey deserves their allegiance much more than any other Power, we do not say Britain. When speaking about Turkey and the war, they adopt a spirit and attitude certainly not advisable, we do not say compatible with their loyalty to Britain. Meetings have been held all over the North and in Bengal and speeches have been made casting aspersions at Christian Powers and the subject of Britain's attitude has come in for a deal of adverse criticism. It is certainly not good policy to play with fire and to make speeches to Mussalman masses whose fanaticism is well known and who seem to think that their very existence is bound up with Turkey. In this town itself there are not wanting people to incite the religious passions of the illiterate militant Moplah. Our office is daily besieged by Mussalmans anxious to hear the latest war news. The other day a Moplah has been asking us whether there are any Italians or Bulgarians in Calicut so that they may be 'taught a lesson'; yet another calmly told us that a Jihad was expected sooner or later, and then they would all march on to 'Stambool' killing Kaffirs on the way. They said

nobody on earth would be permitted to stand in their way on the proclamation of the Jihad. They expect Britain to step in and stop the war. They do not, perhaps, know that she has no such power, and could interfere only if a general European war is threatened. Nobody, neither the Mussalmans nor the Hindus, have any right to dictate to England her foreign policy. We are sorry that our Mussalman friends have adopted such an attitude".

Writing on this subject under the heading "Moslem feeling in India to-day," the Muhammadan, of the 11th November, observes:- "Over all the Moslem world broods the dominating thought 'The hour has come--to do or die for the Caliph'..................We resign ourselves unto the will of the Almighty. That is the spirit of Islam. People may call us fools and fanatics, and accuse us of having committed shocking misdeeds. To work our ruin people may invent crimes and lay them at our door. But we cling to the faith that we are safe and sound in the hands of the good God..whose ways are past finding out.........We see before our eyes the Caliphate in the throes of a death struggle with the Balkan Confederacy. We see before our eyes Moslem brethren dying and bleeding on battlefields for their faith for their fatherland. When Turkey, the home of the brave, is besieged and battered by a cruel conspiracy--how are we to sit unconcerned? When the Caliphate to whom we owe our heart's blood? The best and bravest amongst us, work and bleed--are we to sit still? We know the Moslem is true to the faith that is within him. The hour has come. The need is pressing. There is a message to Moslems. Dr. Suhrawardy sends it. It is an inspiring document. 'We have got well over 30 lakhs which we have collected for the Moslem University. Why not divert that money to this purpose and help Islam in its death struggle with its

implacable foes?............Think of the glories of the past! Think of the culture and chivalry of Cordova and Granada! Think of the honour and glory of Islam? Perish policy--perish self-interest. Think of the Crescent! Sons of Islam! Sacrifice all the pleasures and pomps of life at the altar of Faith. From the millions of the Moslems in India let millions go forth to the help of the bleeding Turkey. If we cannot shed our blood in defence of the Caliphate, let us shell out money, in heartfelt sympathy".

12. In a long article describing the death of an Indian emigrant, who was shot at Demarara, the Indian Patriot, of the 12th November, says:--"An Indian subject was shot dead at Demarara as the result of a strike among the Indian emigrants employed in an estate. The coroner deceased Nankoo died from the effects of a gun-shot wound, the shot being news is available in India; perhaps the whole thing has ended, or something ~~a week has elapsed since a Government~~ has begun which will end in a similar manner...........And yet not even a week as elapsed since a Government order went round a poverty-stricken people, proclaiming good wages for intending emigrants to Scychelles. We shudder to think of the heavy responsibility of a Government that actually encourages emigration into places where they have not even a Protector of Immigrants. Of course, it does make no difference between having and not having a Protector of Immigrants, for there is no protection at all. The Government of India do not give education to the masses; they circulate pamphlets offering good promise of making money abroad; the masses go and are engulfed in conditions, which are hard to think of".

> The death of an Indian emigrant.

Writing on this subject, the Muhammadan, of the 14th November, observes:-"We appeal, with all the earnestness we

can command, to the Government of India to see that the ends of justice are met in this sad case. The Government are responsible for the well-being of the emigrants--be they coolies or galley slaves. By tricks and treacheries, by fraudulent lies, and rascalities, the poor coolies are decoyed from their homes. They are promised this or that. They are taken away to be bled and to die. It is too horrible to think that a savagery of this type should flourish at the dawn of the twentieth century and should be tolerated under the British flag".

16. The United Church Herald, of November, states that certain Indians left India to go to Australia. At a great expense and with much difficulty, they at last arrived there, but were prevented from landing by the Australian Government. They thereupon went to England, the abode of freedom, and reported the matter to the Prime Minister in London. He pleaded his inability to interfere and turned them out. This is heartrending news, says the paper, to every Indian. It remarks that while this was taking place, the Government of India were perhaps sleeping. It is at a loss to know why the Missionaries, who come to India from Australia and Canada to preach the Gospel, do not see the injustice of this treatment accorded to the Indians.

/Australians and Indians./

23. In an article under this heading, in expressing its sympathy with Mr. Arnold, the editor of the Burma Critic, the Sarvajana Hitopakarini, of the 9th November, writes:-- Mr. Arnold is a broad-minded man who, rising superior to all sectarian or racial prejudices, has striven for the advancement of all classes of people, and has especially made enormous sacrifices for the protection of female purity. We have no

/Horrible punishment./

doubt that the sympathy which all our countrymen feel for Mr. Arnold, who has subjected himself to his present conviction in his noble endeavour to promote purity and righteousness in Burma, will not fail to cheer and support him in his misfortune. We trust His Excellency Lord Hardinge will give due weight to public opinion and release Mr. Arnold from imprisonment.

[Sedition.]

21. The Hitakarini, of the 20th October, says that a school-master, Naik by name, in the Thana village in the Bombay Presidency was convicted for sedition on the evidence of a single witness. It says that sedition should certainly be put down, but it is curious that the Judge sentenced the accused to rigorous imprisonment and find on the strength of such inadequate evidence as that of a single person.

VI.--Miscellaneous

[Turkey and the Indian Muhammadans.]

36. Regarding the proposal said to have been made by His Highness the Aga Khan to transfer the 30 lakhs of rupees, collected for the Muslim University, to the Turkish Relief Fund, the Swadesamitran, of the 9th November, observes:-

Though we fully appreciate the feelings of genuine sympathy underlying this proposal, we think it is not a wise one after all. If once the fund that has now been collected for the Muslim University is utilised otherwise, it will be very hard to collect a fund again for the same purpose. Already large sums of money are being sent to Turkey, and if a house-to-house collection is made, as it has been decided to do in Bombay, still larger amounts may be collected and sent to Constantinople. It is argued that

~~as the proposals of the G~~

as the proposals of the Government regarding the Muslim University have not given satisfaction to the Muhammadans, this fund may as well be utilised now for a more useful purpose. But we do not know if it will be so easy to collect a fund again, if perchance the Government is prepared to favour the Muhammadan view. As the committee of the Hindu University has also sent in a dissenting note, we do not think the Government will be stubborn in this matter.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 23RD NOVEMBER 1912.

No. 48 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration

(b) Courts.

Sir Charles Fox and natives of India.

5. In an article under the heading "Indians libelled", the Madras Standard, of the 19th November, writes:- "Sweeping generalisations of Indian character by the Anglo-Indian officials are calculated to do far more harm than even administrative blunders. In the case of officers who fill responsible positions under the Crown, any indulgence in such generalisations should be taken a more serious view of by the authorities. Sir Charles Fox of the Chief Court of Burma, who tried the Arnold case, is reported to have said in the course of his address to the jury that 'the letter and the petition were sufficient to make any man suspect that it might be one of those false cases which natives of India were very fond of indulging in'. While we do not claim any angelic perfection for the people of India, we certainly cannot believe that they are the only people on earth who can commit perjury.........The statement of Sir Charles Fox was made to the jury whose mind ought to be free from any bias whatever, in order to arrive at a just and fair conclusion. Is a generalisation of this kind calculated to secure from the jury a thoroughly sound an impartial verdict? Black sheep exist inevitably in every flock. But why Indians in particular should be singled out, we really fail to understand. We may, however, point out to the learned Judge that a far higher judicial authority in this country some years ago put the average veracity of the Indian witness higher than that of his

kinsman who kisses the book in an English Country Court. We deeply regret that a judicial officer of the rank of Sir Charles Fox should have in a moment of weakness betrayed his unjudicial frame of mind. It cannot, therefore, be said that a Judge so biassed can hold the balance even, and it is no wonder that many competent authorities hold that his decision in the Arnold case is a grave miscarriage of justice. We sincerely trust the Government will take a due note of his offensive reference which makes him unfit to hold a judicial appointment".

(k) General.

/The Public Service Commission/

13. The Indian Patriot, of the 20th November, has the following:--"The enquiry, which is shortly to begin by the Public Service Commission, is started on the basis of the Policy, repeatedly declared and frequently evaded, to employ natives of India to all offices which they are qualified by ability and character to fill..........In the practical issues which the Commission have to deal with Indian publicists must be prepared to afford the utmost help. We have to make up our minds as to what we should stand for. There can be no surrender or compromise on our part as to perfect equality of talent and character and perfect equality of opportunities for all. On that point we have nothing to yield. Our position is clear, and it ought to be firmly maintained. The working up of details must be in conformity with this general principle. The Civil Service is the most important of all services; it is the most coveted, and exclusion from it is most resented by Indians. Though it may not be quite correct to say that Indians are excluded from that service, we can say with truth that Indians are excluded from all the highest offices, and from all but a very small number of minor offices. Our difficulties lie both in getting admission into the Civil

Service and in rising to higher offices in that service. The one is the result of rules and regulations which are so framed as to throw enormous difficulties in our way. The other is due to the crystallised conservatism of the Government of India which has remained fixed in the notion that natives of India must have a limit to their ambition ever after they have once entered the service after satisfying every test ~~remedy lies in~~ applied to Englishmen. Both are legitimate causes of grievance and the remedy lies in changing the rules in one case, and in liberalising the notions of the Government to the point of perfect justice in the other.

"In this view, the question of recruitment for the Civil Service has to receive first consideration............. Among the Civil Servants of each year we find at least half-a-dozen first-class men, and they make their mark in India. We rather exaggerate the chances of our students in a common competitive examination for England and India, and Englishmen who are opposed to simultaneous examinations do the same. A few years' results will show that both are wrong.

"An alternative to simultaneous examinations is that Indians may be allowed to be recruited in India for a certain proportion of appointments in the Civil Service. This was done when the Statutory Civil Service was created. That was a very important concession whose value we failed to rightly estimate owing to temporary dissatisfaction caused by a few first appointments. The principle of recruitment in that way was very sound; but the manner in which it was carried out in some cases caused dissatisfaction, and we had no patience to survive the first stages before we condemned the system itself. The only thing required was, in course of time, to increase the proportion

of places open to the new service. Its abolition showed the mistake we had made.............There have been marked failures among competition-wallahs as there have been among others. Whatever may be done, the present division between Imperial and Provincial services must go. What Indians seek is not merely places, but higher places. When the Statutory Service was created, there was no idea of treating its members as in any way inferior to the members of the Covenanted Service. But as a fact not a single man has been allowed a rise beyond a Collectorship or a Judgeship".

VI--Miscellaneous.

The Co-operation of Hindus and Muhammadans.

22. In commenting on the speech of Sir James Meston at the Convocation of the Allahabad University, in which he referred to the division which exists between Hindus and Muhammadans, the Indian Patriot, of the 18th November, says:--"There is yet no sign that the two communities will heartily co-operate even in things which admit of advantageous co-operation. They still proceed in different ways, and the ways have become acutely antagonistic as evidenced by the rise of the Hindu Sabha which is professedly organised to safeguard the interest of the Hindus as against those of the Muslims. Yet to thinking minds it cannot but be apparent that this conflict between them is calculated to lessen the influence of both. Hindu opinion by itself, without the support of Muhammadan opinion, has failed to achieve success in several things; and Muhammadan opinion counts less without the support of Hindu opinion. The affairs in Persia, Turkey and elsewhere have convinced the Muslim League in London that to stand apart from Hindus is not the best policy for Muhammadans; and there can be no doubt that if Hindus and Muhammadans were one, the

combined weight of their influence would have had greater effect even in Europe. But while Hindus have no aspirations beyond their country, Muhammadans have relied on their connection with their co-religionists elsewhere. To the extent they rest their hope elsewhere than in India their influence in India itself must become less. Turkey and Persia have shown little concern for Indian Muhammadans; and while the latter are rightly proud of great Muhammadan potentates elsewhere, in practical life this fact has little result.

"On the other hand, the knowledge that Muhammadans stand alone in India, apart from the rest of the population, if not in actual antagonism with it, must impair their influence abroad. And in India itself the division between the two has resulted in the arrest of progress.............. Besides Muhammadans, other sections of Indians have also been politically indifferent, if not divided. Their aims are not in all cases the same. There is, indeed, a yearning for power and influence, and jealously and antagonism towards the power and influence of others. The yearning is right; the jealousy and antagonism have to be weakened and destroyed. It is the work of men educated in the Universities and capable of extending their influence far and wide to effect this. But the educated men themselves must be imbued with high ideals before they can be instruments for the realisation of the ideals. In school and college they cherish high ideals; but their attachment and association in home and society are not altogether favourable to the growing influence of the ideals. It is here that the social ideals of the people have a bearing on their political ideals. It is here that the conflict between social and political ideals begins. While politics pull in one direction, home and society pull in another. Castes and sects are anxious for ascendency while national politics will

not admit of any such ascendency.........The Eurasians and Indian Christians were at one time with the Congress; and while we ourselves believe that they would have been better if they had continued as they began, the fact cannot be denied that they honestly believed that their best interests lay in separation. They have, it is true, lost the support and influence of the general community in maintaining their self-respect and asserting their rights. But they still believe in standing alone, because they think that, thrown with the rest, they will be lost. How far the conduct of influential sections of the people has been responsible for this it is difficult to say. But we feel no doubt whatever that a feeling of distrust has prevailed to the prejudice of union and co-operation".

24. The West Coast Spectator, of the 20th November, observes:

Sir James Meston and the Indian National Congress.

"Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, has begun well. His reply to the address of welcome presented by the Provincial Congress Committee deserves to be calmly studied by the rulers of other provinces, and the official classes generally. He recognises the importance of the Congress. The Officials and the Congress misunderstood each other in the early days, but the times had changed. Both were now pursuing the same ideals and engaged in the same work. If the Congress work was carried on constitutional lines it would received greater attention from the officials. These are sensible words. We ask how many officials are there who regard the Congress and its propaganda from the same standpoint as that of Sir James Meston. We are afraid the Congress is still regarded as an anathema by the generality of officials. No useful purpose can be served by the officials looking with suspicion at the Congress. The Congress has established its claim to be regarded as a constitutional body, working for the political advance of India with loyal patriotism. The

better minds among the officials have allowed this claim. What we want is that the official classes should give up the fear and suspicion and co-operate with the Congress to bring about the ideals it stands for. This is not at a tall order. The changed situation demands it. If the officials see eye to eye with Sir James Meston in this respect, the day will not be far distant when the much-talked of gulf between the rulers and the ruled will be satisfactorily bridged. Much depends on liberal minded statesmen like Sir John Meston who can inspire their subordinates with their example".

28. The Indian Patriot, of the 23rd November, remarks:-

/The Bakr-id riots./

The reports that we have been publishing of Bakr-id riots in Bengal and United Provinces strike a discordant note amidst the united and brotherly love and sympathy that Hindus and Muhammadans have directed towards tottering Turkey. Moslem India, by which we mean the educated section of it, was so overpowered by this whole-hearted sympathy of Hindu India, that from Bombay we did hear of Muhammadans abstaining from the killing of the cow, as a mark of appreciation of their sympathy in the hour of trial. But it is not from educated Muhammadans' and educated Hindus that trouble arises over the Bakr-id and lives are lost, but from the ignorant, illiterate masses, who cannot understand one another .... At each succeeding Bakr-id there is trouble. Neither the organisation of special police nor the presence of the armed police is the proper way to discharge the responsibility of Government in this matter. To be effective, the Government must strike at the root--give free and, if necessary, cumpulsory education; for it is better to compel boys to think and know than to allow them to grow to manhood and permit them to cut one another's throat, the Government rushing to avert bloodshed".

29. Referring to the question asked in the House of Commons recently whether the Government of India were competent to raise the question of an offer of Dreadnoughts by India, the Hindu, of the 23rd November, says;--"We are perfectly willing to grant that the East Indies squadron is inadequate for our needs, but that is a matter which ought to be adjusted without increasing India's financial burden. There is a tacit contract between the Imperial and Indian Governments that adequate naval defence ought to be provided for the latter in return for its share in the burden of military defence and the quarter to attack for strengthening the squadron is the Admiralty, not the Government of India. Then again as regards the defence of Indian waters, these critics surely forget the clause of the Anglo-Japanese agreement which provides for Japan policing Indian shores in times of war. Thus, for all these various reasons above advanced, we are inflexibly opposed to any increase in the defence expenditure of India. There is nothing, however, apart from the financial objection, as we have pointed out, against the idea of an Indian navy as such. If, for example, the military expenditure of India could be decreased, there cannot be any objection in India to a major part of the sum saved being devoted to the upkeep of a navy. We commend that aspect of the matter to our contemporaries and to those persons who are now so busy in carrying on an active propaganda for an Indian navy. Let them agitate for the decrease of military expenditure as a condition precedent to naval expenditure. We must also say that these objections raised to naval expenditure apply only to its being undertaken or inspired by the Government of India whose finances, cannot possibly bear the strain. There can be no possible objection to a public and unofficial movement to subscribe towards such expenditure".

[The question of an Indian navy]

II. Home Administration

(b) Courts.

31. Referring to the conviction of Mr. Arnold in the Burma Critic case, the Andhrakesari, of the 8th November, states that not only the Indians but also Europeans are of opinion that the sentence of imprisonment for one year passed on him is very severe. The organs of public opinion have all pronounced the punishment to be unjust. Mr. Arnold is a liberal-hearted man who has worked for the welfare of all, rising above all racial prejudices. The sacrifice that he made for preserving the honour of women and girls is unsurpassed. In his anxiety to make Burma pure, respectable and moral, he met with this punishment. The paper hopes that His Excellency Lord Hardinge will respect public opinion and release Mr. Arnold.

The Burma Critic case

(k) General.

37. The Andhrakesari, of the 8th November, complaint that a Christian Missionary, with 22 Christian students, entered into a Hindu temple at Tirupala Thoro in the Madras Presidency and went very near to the flag-pillar. The karnam of the place protested in vain. The Missionary attempted to go further inside. An altercation followed. Words led to blows and both the parties were hurt. The paper says that the Christians look upon Hindu pagodas with contempt, and is at a loss to know what necessity there was for the Missionary to enter the pagoda in question. It remains to be seen, it says, how the authorities will view the conduct of this Missionary and his student-followers, who interfered with the religion of the Hindus and caused great disturbance.

A Missionary entering a Hindu Temple.

VI. Miscellaneous

45. The Swadesamitran, of the 19th November, expresses its satisfaction at Sir James

English officials and the Congress.

Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, having received an address of welcome from the Provincial Congress Committee, and onserves:--Till recently the Congress was not recognised by the English officials. In the beginning, Lord Dufferin in Calcutta and Lord Connemara in Madras invited the members of the Congress to their residence and gave them a treat. It was in the third Congress held at Madras that, dissatisfied with the election of the late Mr. Badrudin Tyabjee as the President, Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan and other Muhammadan leaders began to speak against the Congress, and this was a good excuse for the English officials, who were already viewing this assembly with suspicion, to express their disapproval of its work openly. Soon after this, even Lord Dufferin changed his opinion about it and severely criticised its objects and methods, before he left India. From this time the English officials and other Englishmen have been exhibiting feelings of contempt and enmity towards the Congress. Many Englishmen were laughing at it and many even declared that it was an enemy to the British rule. When Lord Curzon was requested by Sir Henry Cotton, the President of the Calcutta Congress, to permit a copy of the resolutions passed that year being presented to him personally, he declined to allow this on the ground that there was no precedent for it. This feeling of enmity to the Congress was only growing day by day, till Lord Morley declared in the House of Commons that he was not afraid of the Congress and that it was only doing what the educated classes in every country were doing. He wanted to gain over the educated classes to the side of the Government and Lord Minto was also at one with Lord Morley in this view. It was from this time that the suspicion and hatred of the English officials against the Congress began to disappear and a feeling of mutual sympathy and confidence arose. Soon after Lord

Hardinge took charge of the Viceroyalty, he received a Congress deputation, headed by Sir William Wedderburn, and kindly accepted a copy of the resolutions of the Congress passed that year. Now the English officials and Englishmen generally praise the Congress as a very useful institution. It can be safely asserted that the very nature of the relations between the people and the Government in India has undergone a complete change after the visit of His Majesty the King-Emperor to this country.

The welcome address presented to Sir James Meston contained a clear statement to the effect that the aim of the Congress was to obtain swaraj for India, subject to British suzerainty. In his reply the new Lieutenant-Governor neither demurred to this statement nor approved of it. We do not think he will approve of it openly. The very fact that he has not refuted it appears to us to be a good sign. Like Sir George Clarke, Sir James Meston might have declared that the aim of swaraj was a day dream and that it would only ruin and not benefit the Indians. That he did not say anything like this shows his wisdom and good intention. What if any one says anything about our future? There is no denying the fact that the ideal of the Indians is swaraj.

48. The Desabhimani, of the 22nd September (received on 16th November) says that in the days when the people were very enthusiastic about the Swadeshi movement, they started many industries. But when the enthusiasm cooled down, these industries were given up. This shows their weakness and, as long as it lasts, there is no hope, it says, of the Indians coming up to a level with the other nations. If they earnestly endeavour to manufacture in India itself articles which they require for their own use, the Government will surely help

/The Swadeshi movement./

them, and never throw obstacles in their way. But they are lacking in union and encouragement, and, under such circumstances, it is no wonder, says the paper, that doubt is expressed as to their future progress.

49. The Sasilekha, of the 19th November, feels highly gratified to learn that the Lieutenant-Governor of Allahabad has spoken of the Congress in terms of the highest praise. It says:--"The Government have granted all the power that we wanted. We must endeavour to gain ability and skill to exercise it. Government now place great confidence in their Indian subjects and love them. They are trying their best to spread education among the Indians and to improve the sanitation of the country. In carrying out these projects, men of light and leading among us should co-operate with Government, and distinguish themselves".

The Congress.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 30TH NOVEMBER 1912.

No. 49 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General

8. The Hindu, of the 25th November, writes:-"Information regarding the proceedings of the Royal Commission on the Public Service is exceedingly meagre, considering that the Commission is to assemble first in Madras towards the end of December and commence to take evidence on the 8th January next. It is much to be regretted that Madras has been selected to be the first scene of operations of the Commission. It seems to us, with all respect, to be an ill-considered decision. We cannot think of any Presidency or Local Government so ill-prepared as Madras now is to afford useful material for the deliberations of so important and comprehensive a Royal Commission as the one which is to meet under the Chairmanship of Lord Islington. Our new Governor Lord Pentland cannot be expected, so soon after his arrival in this country, to contribute anything towards gathering the evidence and materials to be placed before the Commission, or even to understand the scope of the Commission's work and its exact bearing upon the local conditions. We learn that Mr. A.R. Knapp has been placed on special duty in order to collect information which may be needed by the Government for the purpose of the Commission ....So far as appears, at present, there is ample ground for the members of the Civil Service for feeling confident that their point of view will be amply represented and safeguarded. So far as the rights of Members of the

ØThe Public Service Commission.Ø

Provincial Service and the claims of the people to a larger share than now exists for employment in the higher ranks of the service, are concerned, we have yet to know what arrangements are under contemplation in order to bring to a focus the evidence available on these important points. A non-official Indian, who has intimate acquaintance with, and knowledge of, the subject, would be the most suitable for such a purpose............The public are in the dark as to what the Government of India or the Local Government are doing in this connection. It would be much more satisfactory if the Commission began its work in a Province where more materials and evidence are likely to be immediately available on the many large questions coming within the scope of the Commission's enquiries, than here, and where more data exist for arriving at conclusions on the most important points to which the Commission has to devote its attention. We understand that the interrogatories, which are said to be under preparation by the Government of India, are not expected to reach the Local Government within a fortnight. The time left, after the interrogatories are received by the Local Government for the collection of evidence and other necessary steps to be taken before the Commission sits to take evidence, would be very small and inadequate. A muddle like that which took place when the Royal Commission on Decentralization held its first sitting in Madras is likely to ensue in the present instance also"

The Indian Patriot, of the 28th November, writes:--"The scope of the Public Service Commission enquiry will be very extensive. It will cover all civil departments, and the issue in all will comprehend much more than the claims of natives of India. It will include recruitment, conditions of service, salary, pension and leave. The task of the Commission will be unduly heavy; and it is a question how long the Commission will be occupied in making up its conclusions on all the wide variety of questions which have to be settled. The principles which will be settled for the

Indian Civil Service may be expected to be followed in respect of other services for which recruitment is made in England........In the Engineering service, though there is no bar to the promotion of Indian trained men, so far as this Presidency is concerned, not a single Indian has hitherto been appointed a Superintending Engineer. In the Forest department similarly there is not a single Indian Conservator of Forests. There are then such departments as the Police and the Salt, in respect of which no special education is required; but there are restrictions enforced in practice, the result which is the exclusion of Indians from all higher places. In all these, Indian claims have remained unsatisfied, and under the present system they must remain unsatisfied. The distinction between superior and inferior service has imposed a bar against Indians. That distinction has to go, and we feel little doubt that it will go. Merit will then prevail against purely artificial distinctions, and merit will have to be judged by public examinations or by approved service. For every service there must be recruitment in India as well as in England.......... If there is to be competition, it must be held in both countries, for Englishmen principally in England, for Indians principally in India. In what country they ought to compete must be left to their choice. But if selection, and not competition is resorted to, then the candidates selected in both countries must be placed on a footing of equality in regard to pay, service and pension. There should be no inferior article in a common service. The prospects of promotion must be the same to all".

VI. Miscellaneous

12. The West Coast Spectator, of the 23rd November, remarks:- "We are surprised at the decision of the Muslim

Indian Muslims and the Balkan War.

University authorities to place their funds, amounting to nearly thirty lakhs of rupees, at the disposal of the Government of Turkey. We cannot approve this proposal. It is to be regretted that our Muslim fellow subjects have not yet realised that India is their country and that their own community require first consideration instead of the subjects of a foreign Sovereign who has not come to the help of the Indian Mussalmans on any occasion. Pan-Islamism is a very good doctrine no doubt, but the truism that charity should begin at home is far better. Hundreds of thousands of Muslim children and young men are growing up in ignorance, ignorant of the blessings of education. That being the case we cannot but regret the diversion of the funds to other channels".

Sir James Meston and the Indian National Congress

14. Referring to Sir James Meston's reply to the welcome address of the United Provinces' Congress Committee, the Weekly Chronicle, for the week ending 24th November, remarks:-"Most people coming across these sentiments would doubt whether they were actually uttered by an Anglo-Indian official, especially by the head of a Local Government. But, then, the days of suspicion and mistrust are over..............Sir James Meston has followed the example of the great statesman who for five long years devoted his intellect and his learning to the task of solving some of the greatest of Indian problems. Sir James was quite right when he said that the officials and the Congress were working together for the welfare of India. But the officials are an organised and compact whole. The Congress is still an ill-constituted body upon which many of the communities and castes of India are but meagrely represented. Since the Government have now recognised it, those who are responsible for its organization and working should bestride themselves and make it as representative and responsible a body as possible, so that its usefulness in the future, in an ever-increasing measure, may be ensured".

18. The Madras Standard, of the 27th November, observes:-

The question of an Indian navy.

"The question of India contributing towards the defence of Eastern waters is not a new one. Two years ago some busy bodies in quest of a fad started a proposal to saddle the finances of India with a naval contribution. Early this year the matter was again taken up and 'Asiaticus' in the National Review gave us an exhaustive account of the movement, which was then in its initial stages. The easiest thing in the world is adding a fresh burden on to this country. Indian finance is a friendless orphan and can be utilised for any purpose, practically, on the mandate of the Secretary of State for India. The tax-payer has no voice in the expenditure and Indian opinion, though of late not quite a negligible factor, has practically no influence in financial matters........We do not want to traverse the often-trodden grounds of the Indian military charges, the Indian Home charges and the drain pure and simple on India. They are now well known to a tyro in Indian politics. Indian politicians would do well to have an eye on this movement which, if allowed to gain strength, must ultimately end in an extra burden on the Indian finance without any recompense. As for the ~~appeals~~ appeal in the name of the Empire, it must always fan flat on Indians so long as they have no Empire outside India. We have not even the rights a foreigner can boast of in the British Empire outside India.

23. In a leading article on this subject the Hindu, of the 30th November, observes:--

Indian cash balances and English borrowers.

"The articles on 'Indian Financial Management' of the Anglo-Indian correspondent to the London Times, as well as the questions and answers in Parliament on the loan of Indian reserves and balances to London bankers, which have been reproduced in these columns in the course of this week, should have made it clear that though the particular transactions entered into may have been

reproduced in these columns in the course of this week, should have made it clear that though the particular transactions entered into may have been of a character above board, the policy which has underlain them and the risks which they involve are by no means calculated to assure the Indian public mind as to their soundness. So far as the maintenance of the Gold Standard Reserve fund in London is concerned, the arguments against its maintenance have been stated often enough in these columns. But if it is undesirable that this fund should be located in London and lent to 'approved borrowers' for short periods at favourable rates, it seems to us positively unsafe to accumulate the cash balances of the Indian Government in London by means of council drawings and then lend large portions of it, which are sure to be required at any time for the Indian Government's purposes, to London bankers, some of whom at any rate are serving on the Finance Committee of the Indian Office. The case made out by the Anglo-Indian correspondent in this respect seems to us far the most damaging of all he has made out on India Office financial methods, though the party capital which was attempted to be made out of the question of the purchases of silver, has made it appear more formidable, which in consequence failed............We hope, from every point of view, the inquiry asked for in respect of the whole question of currency and finance will be granted, and a sound policy, as advised by impartial experts, may be laid down for future guidance".

27. Referring to the visit of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale to South Africa, the Sasilekha, of the 26th November, says

The Colonies and the Indians

as follows:-While the people in the Colonies come to India and enjoy all comforts, Indians are not enabled to go to the Colonies, engaged themselves in some business there, and live happily. It is not proper to say that they should

serve the Colonists as slaves. Indians will never brook such indignity. The Government of England are unable to exercise influence over the Colonists. Under such circumstances, it is curious that the English Government have given their assent to the law which provides for the emigration of indentured labourers to the Colonies. The Colonists contend that the Indians should not go to their country except as labourers. The Parliament and the Government of India are not bold to stop all emigration and prohibit the Colonists going to Indian ~~are not~~ and trading there. Had it not been for the Indian coolies, the Colonies would never have been in the flourishing condition in which they are at present. The Colonists have proved ungrateful. We hope that the matter will often form a subject of discussion in the Imperial Legislative Council and that the people will submit memorials to His Majesty and to the Parliament and seek redress.

38. The Desamata, of the 20th November, while thanking the Government of Bombay for their kindness in converting the rigorous imprisonment which Mr. Tilak has been undergoing into simple imprisonment, says that although this is, on the one hand, favourable to him, yet, on the other hand, it has proved to be a hardship. It appears that if this favour had not been shown to him, he must have been released by this time. He is not keeping good health and is very uneasy on account of the death of his wife. The country is now free from any unrest and the people are peaceful and contented. The paper prays that the authorities will set Mr. Tilak free on the occasion of the Darbar to be held this year in connection with the State entry into Delhi.

/Mr. Tilak./

VI. Miscellaneous.

41. In a long article under this heading the Dravidabhimani, of the 22nd November, describes the recent fracas

England's superabundant rights and India.

in the British Parliament and compares it with the disgraceful scenes enacted in the Surat Congress. The possibility of the occurrence of such scenes in the House of Commons is explained to be due to the too many political rights enjoyed by the British people. This eventually leads to a contrast between the respective rights of the people of England and India. It is pointed out that the English nation has acquired its present political rights and privileges after centuries of struggle, and the Indians should likewise work in a spirit of union if they want to achieve their salvation. The growing sympathy of the English officials for the Congress and its political ideals is hailed with joy and in illustration of this, the substance of the article under the heading "English officials and the Congress" from the Swadesamitran, published on page 1726 of this report, is reproduced here.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 7TH DECEMBER 1912.

No. 50 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

The Public Service Commission.

12. Referring to the sets of questions relating to the Indian and Provincial Civil Services, issued in a Fort St. George Gazette Extraordinary, dated 5th December, in connection with the Public Service Commission, the Hindu of the 6th December, remarks:--"Looking at the questions as a whole, it cannot be said thaj are either ~~thre~~ thorough or exhaustive and they bear here and there evidence of the haste with which they have been compiled. ....It seems to us that the questions as framed seem to proceed on the assumption that the services as now organised and divided into the Imperial and Provincial Civil Services will continue, whereas one of the terms of reference to the Commission clearly requires them to deal with 'the existing system of division of services into Provincial and Imperial'. Though some of the general questions included in the list do allow of this being done, they have not been so clearly and fully directed to this aspect of the matter as they should have been. This seems particularly necessary for, as Mr. Montague, the Under Secretary of State, pointed out when he announced the appointment of the Commission in the House of Commons in July last, that the maintenance of this division has given

rise to the greatest complaints among Indians both in principle and in actual practice, and he added, 'it is the question of principle we have to decide first'......... The question for the Commission should be whether there is necessity in India for the existence of such a large corps d' elite as is now comprised in the Indian Civil Service. The questions published in the Gazette give useful particulars under this head, which it is the duty of non-official witnesses to study carefully in order to suggest the proper remedies. It is a quest on which requires delicate, but firm, handling by the Commission, because it conflicts with vested interests".

Writing on this subject the Indian Patriot, of the 6th December, observes:--"The questions in both sets are largely the same, but those intended for officials cover a much larger ground and require special ~~knelwe~~ knowledge of details. It will be seen that what we predicted a few days ago has to come to pass. We pointed to the probability of simultaneous examination being granted us in India and Indian candidates being altogether excluded from the examination in England. That our forecast was correct is shown by the nature of the questions themselves. The Commission does not clearly contemplate the free admission of Indians into the Civil Service..........If the problem is solved as the questions suggest we shall find ourselves worse than we are. We may get simultaneous examinations in India, in which case our proportion will be fixed, and we shall not be permitted to complete in England.........We see clearly before us what the enquiry will tend to, and our duty is to shake the Commission from its preconception. We do not want simultaneous examinations with any limitation of our rights to compete in England. We do not want any other system which will lead to the same result. What we demand is not merely a certain number of appointments, but perfect equality of opportunity and status.........Examinations for India must

be in India. But if this is not possible, let us be given the same examination in India as they insist on having in England, with the choice for us to compete either here or there. If Europeans so wish, they can compete in India as well as in England. Let there be equality for both, and privilege for none..........The difficulty of staying in a foreign land, expending almost a fortune in the uncertain hope of passing an examination there, can ordinarily be overcome only by people who have superfluous wealth. This difficulty is placed in our way so as to discourage us from competing for the Civil Service. Remove it, we say, and we shall be satisfied. But instead of satisfying us in this legitimate way, if the Commission proceed to give us with the one hand what they intend to take away with the other, there can never be a solution of the problem. To do us justice there must be a common examination simultaneously in India and England, and there must be a common examination simultaneously in India and England, and there must be educational institutions in India to suit the requirements of the Civil Service examination. More than this, the same standard test must prevail for both; European and Indian candidates must be listed according to their marks, and their admission must be dependent on the marks they have obtained".

The Madras Standard, of the 6th December, says:-"Madras has no doubt the honour of taking the field first, but it is more than counterbalanced by the disadvantage of the shortness of time. The gentleman to be examined have barely a month before them. The scope of the questions is wide and the importance of the subject and the occasion casts a heavy responsibility on those who will be called for examination. These advantages apart, the scope of the inquiry leaves not much to be desired. Covering as it does a wide field, some very important, direct questions have been framed by the Commission for an answer

and much depends on the effective and united representation by the Indian witnesses. The questions on the Indian Civil Service are of a searching character.........Each question has to be discussed thoroughly involving as it does important issues bearing upon the administration of the country and the status of the Indians. Meanwhile, we trust that those who propose to give evidence will devote their best attention and hold consultations among them that a uniformity at least ~~as~~ in fundamental principles to be adapted might be secured".

VI. Miscellaneous

Indians in South Africa.

14. Referring to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's visit to South Africa and his speeches there, the West Coast Spectator of the 30th November, writes:--"The Government of India can no longer ~~parly~~ parley with the situation. Half measures have failed to bring about the result hoped for. Drastic remedies must soon be administered. There is no other question in India on which politicians of all shades of opinion are agreed than the Indian question in the Colonies. The Government must have realised this by this time. In justice to the Indian people they should take in hand retaliatory measures for which all India is agitating".

Indian students in England.

15. The following appears in the Muhammadan of the 2nd December:-"At a time when the public mind in this country was exercised over the doings of Dhingra and Savarkar, when the feeling akin to panic prevailed in England, we welcomed the idea of an organisation under the auspices of the Government--helpful to students in their sojourn in England. We thought at the time that an association of the kind would relieve much of the anxiety of the parents on

the score of the doings of their young ones. The Advisory Committee which has come into being as the result of the necessity felt an masse at the time, was sought after largely by students who would like to prosecute their studies in England. But the protest meeting that was lately held in England for the removal of disabilities imposed upon the students in utter carelessness of their needs and hopes, reveals a state of affairs, which urgently calls for inquiry and investigation. Instead of securing helpful guidance and introduction of high class society, instead of obtaining facilities in their acquisiton of knowledge and training in their particular line of calling or profession--which we imagined they would get at the hands of those to whose charge they were committed for the time being--Indian students in England experience heavy disabilities in the matter of securing entrance into the Inns of Courts or into business Houses. Rules and regulations are introduced quietly and slowly--without the knowledge of the students--well nigh render an Indian student incapable of getting into any of the Inns to study law. There is a widespread suspicion and jealousy in the minds of the English people regarding the Indian student who seeks knowledge at the portals of their door. This is, indeed, unfortunate. When Germany and America let open their doors of knowledge to the Indians--it is passing strange and sad that England should put obstacles in the path of the Indian seeker after knowledge. With growing disabilities in England and with tests of qualification raised here, the life of the Indian student is but a weariness to the flesh and soul. Is the Indian student to be condemned to ignorance? Should he have his wings of endeavour to gain knowledge clipped by unmeaning disabilities?"

18. The West Coast Spectator, of the 4th December, writes:--

The Indian Naval contribution.

"It is satisfactory to note that several of our leading journals have lost no time in entering emphatic and reasonable protests against the ingenous attempts of an imperialist Anglo-Indian newspaper to tickle India in the patriotic rib and delude her into the belief that there is an obligation resting on her to join in the colonial movement for the presentation of battleships and cruisers to the Imperial Navy. Very cheap and flimsy are the arguments which are employed to show that the obligation is really there........ This question of India's share in Imperial Naval Defence was again brought up in Parliament a few days ago, and Mr. Asquith put the matter very clearly when he said that India was already paying sufficiently high towards the cost of the defence of the empire and that her share, if possible, should not be increased. The premier might, with justice, have gone further and stated or at least suggested that India's share ought to be decreased, but if we are not to have our burden reduced to just dimensions, let us at least protest as loud as we can against the burden being made still more inquitous........The only ground on which this country could justly be invited to join in the movement for the strengthening of the Imperial Navy is that of the equitable readjustment of her military charges. As long as these charges are in excess of India's military obligations, neither fairness nor the thing which is called Imperialism demands that the Indian tax-payer should be further exploited".

Writing on this subject the West Coast Reformer, of the 5th December, says:--"The co-operation of Indian Princes and aristocrats with a view to assisting England is undoubtedly most laudable. No sane man who knows India's obligations to England will dispute the statement. But are Indian Princes and aristocrats capable of undertaking the present task without a hardhsip on themselves and their

dependants? A well-wisher of India should certainly consider this question dispassionately. Indian Princes and Indian people are admittedly in strained circumstances; they are unable to bear the burden of subsidies and taxation already pressing on them; the Viceroy himself has pathetically described their conditon in his present tour. It is further pointed out that the working and martial classes in India have no prospects of employment in the ships to be offered. It is, therefore, to be hoped that due attention will be paid to these circumstances when an attempt is made to realise the proposal".

The Madras Standard, of the 5th December, remarks:-- "The verdict of the Indian press on the question of the Indian Naval contribution is an emphatic 'No'. Not even a single Indian newspaper has extended the faintest support to the proposal. Even in the Anglo-Indian press the proposal has not received a uniform welcome......... Meanwhile, the Anglo-Indian papers which have been strongly urging the need for an Indian contribution and not been taking calmly the adverse views in the Indian press, continue to state that their contentions have not been met. We are prepared to admit them.........We are glad to find that those responsible for the good government of India have taken a saner view. On our side we have the Government of India, the Prime Minister, and the Secretary of State, for India, who ought to know much better about the financial strength of this country to bear a burden of the kind proposed. What we have to do is to stand by them and offer a strenuous opposition to those that seek to satisfy their Imperial leanings at the expense of this country".

The Cochin Argus, of the 7th December, observes:-"The Madras Mail suggests, and we fully endorse the suggestion, that the proportion of the expenditure for increased naval

provision should be met by the allotment of 1 per cent. of the value of India's sea-borne trade. This would mean virtually an insurance against risk, and if we calculate the risk that would decidedly be involved the moment a war broke out, we do not think the premium suggested can be deemed excessive. In fact, we think it could, without difficulty, be shown to err on the side of moderation. Did a war break out, imperilling Indian trade and shipping, the shock would almost immediately prostrate India's agricultural masses, above and beyond which it would paralyse India's industrialism, still in its infancy, for an indefinite but certainly lengthened period. Considerations such as these are not exclusively Imperial but are essentially Indian. It is a moot point to what extent India is overcharged for military purposes, but there is no disputing the fact that she pays for less than she should and consequently has far less than she should have in the way of naval protection. In the light of all this, some contribution from her towards improving that portion of the Navy whose first and last duty is to protect her is undoubtedly due from India. Our Indian friends, in considering this problem, would do well to think of the case of countries like Japan, China and Persia and try to form an idea of the military and naval responsibilities that India, had she been independent, would have been forced to impose upon herself for the sake of self-preservation".

South Africa.

20. The Sasilekha, of the 3rd December, states that in the South Africa, the Government have enacted that only those who were born of European parents and have been domiciled in South Africa, can become public accountants. This is another restriction imposed on the Indians in the colonies. While the colonists come to India and make money according to their pluck and skill, Indians are subjected to restrictions like the above in the colonies. It is curious, says

the paper, that His Majesty King George V and his Cabinet have given their assent to the enactment.

(k) General

29. The Swadesamitran, of the 26th November, says:-We learn that the Royal Commission on the Public Service is to assemble in Madras towards the end of December and commence to take evidence on the 8th January next. The interrogatories of this Commission will, it is stated, be published in a fortnight or two by the Indian Government, and it is feared that the witnesses have not sufficient time before them to be able to collect the necessary information to answer these questions. We cannot understand why the Imperial Government is not sufficiently active in this matter. It is complained that the Indian element is not properly represented on this Commission. Though no Indians may be nominated afresh as members of this Commission, with power to examine the witnesses and give votes, a few Indians selected from the several Provinces may be appointed as advisers, as they are sure to be of great help to the Commission. The Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Rao may be so appointed to represent the Madras Presidency. The Madras Government has entrusted the duty of collecting the information needed for the enquiry to Mr. Knapp, I.C.S. He and Sir Murray Hammic, another member of the Commission, may be expected to safeguard the interests of the Civil Service, and it is necessary to choose suitable men to safeguard the interests of the Provincial Service and of the other branches of the Public Service. Diwan Bahadur R. Ramachandra Rao may be selected for the purpose of representing the Provincial Civil Service. A correspondent writing to the Madras Mail complains that, apart from the Civil Service no appointment has been made to represent the other branches of the Public Service, such as the Railway,

The Public Service Commission.

Postal, Educational, Engineering, Medical and Forest Departments. These departments are as important as the Civil Service, and it is necessary that the Indians should be provided with high posts in these branches of service. It is, therefore, indispensable to consult a few non-officials on matters connected with these branches. It will be enough if instructions are issued to the effect that it is incumbent on the Commission to consult such persons and to take into consideration their opinions in making final recommendations. But as no such instructions have been issued, and as this Commission has been constituted in the special interests of the Civil Service alone, we have no reason to believe that the final result will be satisfactory.

Public Service Commission.

Referring to the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India, the Andhraprakasika, of the 30th November, remarks: If the evidence that is to be given before them is properly given, it will be evident that the Indians have progressed considerably, but that they are not given higher appointments suitable to their merits. The Commission should collect full evidence, consider it carefully and make their suggestions to the rulers. As the rulers are sympathetic towards the ruled, it can be expected that the result of the enquiry will be satisfactory. The committee that has been appointed to enquire into the high prices of food-grains is carrying on its work secretly, although the public are very much interested in its work. We pray that the authorities concerned will not keep the evidence given before the Public Service Commission secret, but will publish it then and there for the information of the public. If the rumour is true that shorthand writers are sent for from England to take down the proceedings of the Commission, we are a loss to know what necessity there arose for importing them

from England while there are in India itself shorthand writers who have distinguished themselves as such in the Legislative Councils, in the Indian National Congress, and other great public meetings.

41. In a leading article on this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 30th November, observes:--"A correspondent

Indian financial management and the Indians.

writing to the London Times about the large accumulation of the cash balances of the Indian Government as Gold Standard Reserve in London and the loan of the same to London bankers at favourable rates, says that the secret disposal of Indian financial matters in London by the Secretary of State for India is open to serious objection, as such a precedure will lead the Indians to suspect the honesty of the ruling race. We cannot give our full support to this view, as we do not thing that the Indian popular leaders are so ignorant of British character. They have the same faith which the British people have in the high character and integrity of the British Ministers and Members of Parliament. Persons like Lord Crew and Mr. Montagu are believed to be perfectly honest. When, however, even honest men secretly dispose of the transactions connected with public finance, their action may be open to other objections than those relationg to dishonesty. The cash balances of the Government of India belong to the Indians and it is but natural that they would not like the idea of foreigners carrying on transactions with these funds in a far-off place like London where their voice cannot reach. Why do the Members of Parliament persist in the British money being spent in accordance with their wishes by the British Ministers? When such is the persistence of the British people in regard to the expenditure of British money, it is not natural to expect the Indians to remain

quiet without protesting against the use of their money without their knowledge by foreign bankers. But so long as the transactions of the India Office are carried on secretly by the secretary of State for India, none will come forward to question the propriety of his actions. This, then, is the principal objectionable feature in the present system. The great drawback in the governance of India is that the final control of Indian administration which has to be carried on in India is held by the Secretary of State in London. As the Indians acquire more of power and privileges in this administration, the autocratic authority of the Secretary of State in London should necessarily be curtailed.

42. The Desamata, of the 27th November, refers to the question of naval force for India and remarks as follows:-

/A naval force for India./

Under land force, India is now spending thirty crores of rupees annually. The Colonies have no such expenditure to meet. If they have any at all, it is only nominal. It is therefore no wonder that the Colonial Governments are forming a naval force for their own defence as well as for that of the British Empire. India which is maintaining a large land force cannot bear the cost of a naval force at the same time. It will be well for all if arrangements are made for some countries to bear the cost of the land forces and the others to bear that of the naval forces. There is already a section of the British naval force in the sea south of India, for the upkeep of which India is contributing seventy lakhs of rupees every year. India cannot undertake any more burden, for it has to spend large sums of money for purposes of education and sanitation.

43. The Ravi, of the 28th November, says that the Malaya Government have resolved to present a tremendous

Naval defence.

warship costing forty-five crores of rupees to the British Empire. It remarks that this help offered by the Malaya Council to the British naval force is highly praiseworthy, and suggests that the Government of India will follow the example and render similar help for the protection of Indian sea-borne trade and the defence of the British Empire.

44. Referring to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's recent visit to South Africa, the Swadeshabhimani, of the 29th November, observes:--The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is of opinion that unless the Imperial Government are prepared to regard all parts of the empire with an equal eye, the hardships and humiliations to which Indians in South Africa are subjected are bound to continue. By devoting the three weeks that he was in South Africa solely to the study of the grievances of his countrymen there, Mr. Gokhale has played the role of a mediator between the rulers and the ruled; and we may be sure that on his return to India he will place the opinion that he has thus formed on the spot before the Government, and use his best endeavours to procure a compliance with the just demands of the Indians in South Africa. We need hardly add that by so doing the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale will pave the way for a most satisfactory solution of the South African question. We earnestly hope that this great patriot's efforts in the cause of justice may be crowned with complete success.

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in South Africa.

45. In its news columns, the Sadhvi, of the 3rd December writes as follows:-Leakut Hussain is a Bengali swadeshist who is well versed in law and who is fully acquainted with his rights and responsibilities as a citizen of India.

Leakut Hussain.

Whenever he finds himself in any way hampered either by the Police or by the Government in the performance of his patriotic work, he at once takes counsel with himself as to whether this interference is morally right or wrong; and in case he arrives at the conclusion that it is wrong, he does not hesitate even to transgress the orders of the Government. Of course, he is tried and punished by the courts for such transgressions, but even when in goal he appeals to the higher courts against these convictions. Such an appeal is before the High Court of Calcutta just now, and they have asked the lower court to show cause why their judgment should not be quashed. If men like these are to be found in every town, it would greatly help the people to know their duties and responsibilities, and encourage them to boldly fight for their rights. Leakut Hussain is a true Sanyasin. He cares only and solely for the good of his country, and this unbounded devotion of his to the motherland, by causing a misunderstanding between him and the Government, very often lands him into trouble. But the great patriot is nothing loth to suffer for his country's cause. It is such men as these that are wanted in India just now........

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 14TH DECEMBER 1912.

No. 51 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. Home Administration.

(c) Jails.

Racial distinction in the Jail.

4. In an article under this heading in which comparison is made of the diet and clothing issued to European and Indian prisoners, the Indian Patriot, of the 13th December, says:-- "The story of the racial distinction in the jail is the story of insipid food and inadequate quantity of insipid food, insufficient clothing and compulsory wearing of dirty clothes--only two suits are given, one new and one old, of which the new one is meant for inspection time and the old one, infested by vermin, to be worn always--as compared to better dress and better food...........The question that the public ask of Sir Harold Stuard, whose large mind rung unconsciously against any vestige of racial distinction, is whether, now knowing what racial distinction in the jail means, he will remove the last vestige of It?.......... To the European prisoner, which term includes even the German who builds the Dreadnought to shatter Britain's greatness, better dress and better food are given, but to the Indian? With the 'Native', as the Indian is called in jail language, no distinction is made of his condition in life or the nature of his crime. He has to wear the vermin infested dress, work without clothing except the langoti, and eat the tasteless food. Those who would withdraw sympathy from the 'Native convict' because he rebelled and would consider that their being shot dead was a necessary step should recall that the jail manual contains a clause which is a direct incitement to rioting and rebellion.

It runs as follows: 'A special dietary is prescribed for Burmese prisoners. Ther health should be at all times carefully watched, and the causes of any unusual fall in weitht should be promptly investigated. Superintendents should remember that Burmese convicts, though excellent workmen and convict officers, are quick tempered and prone to commit offences if not managed with tact and care. Their guarding should be supervised with special vigilance, and their complaints listened to with attention". Because the 'Native' Prisoner is docile he is treated with the loathsomeness of a worm".

5. Referring to the suicide of one of the convicts kept in close confinement in the Penitentiary, in connection with the recent riot, the Indian Patriot, of the 14th December, in an article under this heading says:-"Yet, another soul has winged its way to the judgment seat of an Authority greater than Dr. Macnamara, and the Government of Madras, to tell God of the suffering in jail which, His Excellency was assured, did not exist. It is a credit to the stuff with which God has made the mind of man that it can survive the deadening effects of Madras jail-life and express itself in suicide. The blood of Pinji and Kunny and Rowther and the soul of Munuswamy, forced out of the bodily frame before its time, call on the Madras Government to immediately turn its attention to the jail..... The stream of most heart-rending stories that come from everywhere, the force of public opinion that bangs at the tapal-box of a newspaper office, convince us of the necessity for an extensive jail enquiry. The Government now know that a Forest Committee was justified. It has shown, we hope, to what degradation its fair name had been dragged by the forest administration. Enough evidence is before ~~to~~ it to make it rebel against the conditions

Madras jail revelations.

and make efforts to retrieve its prestige so far as the forests are concerned. Now is the turn of jails. Every friend of Government feels that the time has come to take up jails to preserve its fair name............Enough materials are in the hands of the public to paint any picture that any imagination can draw; and unless the simple truth is laid bare by Government there will be an inclination to exaggerate. The conviction has spread that there is no humanity in the jail. Here is an opportunity for the Christian Missionaries to interfere, and we appeal to the Lord Bishop of Madras to use his influence with the Government and let the Christian spirit inside the jail..........Captain Cameron is still the Superintendent of the Penitentiary, preserving the prestige of the Government, after two serious incidents during his administration, whereas a subordinate officer has been transferred. Many a Superintendent of Jail used to be dismissed or degraded when Mr. Cardew was Inspector-General of Prisons, thus keeping in awe the animal nature in man to be brutal towards his helpless, brethren........ We wish the Superintendent of a Jail would permit an Indian Patriot representative to take a photo of a prisoner while being flogged, so that the public may have an idea of what flogging means in jail. It is a disgrace to civilization, and even Mr. MacKenna, who has introduced flogging in England as a punishment for male procurers, will shudder when he sees to what extent flogging may be carried The jails here cry for the milk of human tenderness, and we hope there is heart enough in the Government to take in the cry".

(k) General.

10. In an article under the heading "The Spread of Discontent" the Indian Patriot, of the 9th December, writes:--

The Public Service Commission.

"The appointment of the Royal Commission on public services

has revived old memories, and from old records and leaves of English history in India very damaging facts are thrown out to strike the heart with dismay.........Upon every one of the members of the forthcoming Commission depends, not the difficult task of doing justice to Indians in India, but the sacred task of restoring the trembling reputation of British justice and fairplay. Indian publicists find in the interrogatories of the Commission, or fear that they find, certain sinister significance. The memory of the past obstructs a free and faithful meaning being found in the aim of the Commission. There will be something that will go against the real interests of Indians, and search is made into every question, the answer to which will be trusted to suit the purpose. No one can deny that there is this suspicion; no one, who is in the know, can be blind to the anxious letters passing an repassing between leaders of Indian thought and opinion.

"It is a very poor record of more than one hundred years of British rule that this suspicion should lurk; it remains with the Public Service Commission that it does not recur.........Now that one seems near the prospect of simultaneous examinations, the voice that clamoured for it is hushed; the hope that rose falls down for the simultaneous examinations will be so made as to impose a silent and serious disqualification. It is for those to prove who hold in their hands the power to shape the policy of the Government that the love and regard now shown is not of the step-mother who warily approaches the child with the unusual smile.........In the Congressmen in whom were discovered traits that provoked laughter and contempt, rulers of provinces have begun to see co-workers. Indians have made their way into the Executive Council. What may follow must be in keeping with these examples of wisdom and foresight and the responsibility of the Commission will be great".

In the third of a series of articles on this Commission under the heading "There is to be no governing caste in India", the Madras Standard, of the 14th December, says:- "Referring to the appointment of two Indians as Members of the Indian Council, Lord Morley said that he made these appointments 'as a marked and conspicuous proof on the highest scale that we no longer intend to keep Indians at arm's length, or to shut the door of the Council chambers of the Paramount power against them'. But Lord Morley's intentions cannot be fulfilled by the appointment of a few Indians in the Executive Councils who could exercise hardly any control over the administration, joined as they are to a number of Englishmen endowed with equal power.

"We demand therefore in the name of the nation, in the name of all that is just and fair, the complete fulfilment of these promises. 'Sympathy and hope', it is time were translated into action. Indians can no longer be satisfied with mere words however sincere.........We have no objection to Englishmen holding highest appointments in India. In a fair competition with Indians, an irreducible minimum of Englishmen is to the exclusion of Indians will mark the inferiority of the Indian races".

17. Referring to the reply of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces to an address presented by the Trustees of the Aligarh College recently, the Madras Standard, of the 10th December, observes:--"It is an encouraging sign of the times that the Indian official mind has grown broad enough to assign politics its legitimate place in its relation to students. While there are still officials in this country to whom politics is a nightmare

Students and Politics.

and who will rigidly keep students from politics, there are also others, though few in number, whose opinion in this matter is entitled to respectful consideration. Sir James Meston is happily one of the few............His Honour has a clear grasp of the student problem and with bold and sagacious statemanship faced the question of students handling politics. While, on the one hand, he encourages the academic discussion of political question, on the other hand he warns his young hearers against over-doing it so as to be lost in sensation and excitement. No better or more opportune advice was ever given to Indian youths by a responsible administrator..........It is not by disallowing them freedom to discuss politics that you can bring up a generation of public spirited and useful citizens, but by judiciously guiding them in their discussion, and keeping them from dangerous extremes. Unless students take an intelligent interest in what goes on around them and in the movements that tend to the regeneration of their country, they cannot grow to the full height of their manhood to be able to discharge satisfactorily their duties to the country. But politics is not, and certainly cannot be, the main theme of their study. What is far more important for young minds during an impressionable period of their lives is to devote their attention to their legitimate work at college, which eventually will fit them for life. The unfortunate tendency now visible amongst a growing number of students, viz., to judge and not to learn, ought to be discouraged in their own best interests--in the interests of their free mental and moral growth. It is in this spirit that His Honour Sir James Meston conceived the student problem and made his sound and practical observation. We feel sure that His Honour's words will sink deep into the minds of all Indian teachers.

20. In an article under this heading, the Indian Patriot, of the 11th December, writes:-

A conservative policy for India.

"If the Conservative party is the party that has prominently in its platform the plank of creating trouble it could not further the cause better than by doing with India what it has done with Ireland and with the English Parliament. It is easier to spread the conviction that England has ruined India by drawing her resources than to confirm the belief that she has made great sacrifices to raise her and her people. And once our agitators begin on that theme, the boy orators, whom Sir Arthur Lawley nipped in the bud, will come again from every village. And if Sir Edward Carson should be given the portfolio of India when this party comes into power, we may look forward to the signing of a convention and processions of young men, and parading of agitators; we may look forward to the reception of one of the popular leaders with all the honour extended to the Viceroy or to the King as they did in England. Sir Edward Carson will correct them where they err, and perhaps write a despatch on the proper way of doing this mimic rebellion. It is a matter for regret that Sir John D. Rees is on the side of sedition and anarchy; and although he would protest against Mr. Ramsay Macdonald condemning war in France, he would not protest against Mr. Bonar Law creating trouble, in India..........It will be an evil day for Indian and for the British Empire when Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson come into power and take into their own hands the management of its affairs and the moulding of its fate.

"To-day, standing on the threshold of a bright and hopeful era, Indians will thank God that the Liberals were in power when the seeds of anarchy, unknown to the oriental civilisation sprouted with life at the Manicktolh gardens and spread and almost threatened to take root from one end of the country to the other. The divinity that we associate

with the connection between England and India was not better displayed than when, at a supreme moment of struggle and anxiety in the history of this country, the hand of a Liberal like Lord Morley held the balance............ Those who express surprise that India could have changed so soon and so well from what is threatened to be four years ago are unconsciously paying tribute to the force of thought and lead of statesmanship of British Liberalism. We see the hand of God in the chain that binds this country to England, not where, the British soldier holds his parade, but in the large heart of British Liberalism whence rise sentiments which, to us, are sentiments that can fall only from God-head".

The Hindu, of the 12th December, observes:-"Notwithstanding the entirely objectionable character of Mr. Bonar Law's speech at Oldham on the 9th ultimo in reference to India and Tariff reform, one cannot avoid the impression that too much party capital has been made out of it by Lord Crewe in the two speeches at Cheltenham and at Bournemouth of which Reuter has cabled a summary to this country. At any rate, those in India who look to the Secretary of State for India for a correct exposition of the Indian point of view and for a just protection of Indian interests in the trade policy between England and India, will not find in these speeches any anxiety exhibited by Lord Crewe in this behalf, but will, on the other hand, note with regret his scrupulous concern for the interests of British manufacturers whom the present free trade policy forced on India directly helps to encourage and maintain, to the detriment of the development of Indian industries. Both Lord Crewe and Mr. Bonar Law are agreed in treating India as simply a country for which it is the right of England to dictate a trade policy and enforce it. Mr. Bonar Law,

it must be stated, was perfectly frank as to the ground on which he claimed this right...........Lord Crewe has not shown that the present position as to forced free trade is anything but servility to India. The Radical Free Trader may no doubt console himself--if he can, which we doubt much--with doctrinal conformity to the principles of economics but he cannot console himself, with adhesion to the far larger political principles of freedom, of liberty to a country to protect its interests as its representatives, nay even its foreign administration, considers necessary--a right which has been fully conceded to every other part of the Dominions. There is, we find from Lord Crewe's speeches, no dispute as to the real view of the Indian public on this question, and this, they find, will not be given to either by Tariff Reformers or Free Traders. From the point of view of India, it is unnecessary to say who is in the better position in the manner he gives effect to this refusal. The main thing with both is the fear of 'imperilling the prosperity of thousands of the great business exporting goods to India and the wages of hundreds of thousands of workers' But what about the industrial prosperity of India, whose absence it is that makes the prosperity of England and that places this country in a chronic state of agricultural dependence and low economic vitality of the masses who are liable to succumb to the first touch of famine, all of which are or must be Lord Crewe's first concern?"

/ Indian financial management. /

21. Referring to the letters published in the London Times on this subject the Wednesday Review, of the 11th December, says:--"The Times has a reputation for hard hitting and the India Office has not been spared in that respect. The India Office is not without its advocates and already replies have come in; and another correspondent has begun to deal with the case in favour of the India

Office even as the writer of these articles has condemned its policy. Whatever may be the outcome of the fierce light of public criticism being thrown upon the actions of the Secretary of State for India, we may be certain that Indian finances cannot henceforth be managed in that hold and corner fashion. The writer has been able to show that the India Office has been guilty of both acts of commission and omission and that it has forgotten the purpose for which it was created.........We may say at once that we do not entirely concur with all that the writer has said, and in our opinion the present policy of the Secretary of State is the direct result of the step taken by the Government in closing the minits to the private coinage of silver. But we join at once in his criticisms so far as the evil effects of the present system are concerned.........So long as we have no effective Parliamentary ~~contre~~ control of Indian affairs it is incumbent on the Secretary of State and his advisers to realise in the first instance that a great and sacred responsibility rests on them and as the trusted guardians of the people of India they should see that the finances of the country are managed to their best advantage. We need scarcely remind them that the progress and prosperity of a country mainly depend on the prudent management of its finances".

22. The Wednesday Review, of the 11th December, observes:-

Indian students in England.

"The recent correspondence in the British press about the India Office control of Indian students shows that something is wrong somewhere. The Secretary of State's attention must be drawn to it. There is no doubt that Lord Morley was actuated by the best of motives in starting the Advisory Bureau, but apparently his policy has not been carried

out. At that time the Indian student was more or less a suspect and we imagine he is suspected even now. If every student was believed to be a Savarkar or Dhingra, there was some excuse for it then. An institution like the bureau was absolutely necessary to infuse confidence. But it seems that the bureau is not doing its work properly if, as we understand, it is not helping forward the claims of students for admission to colleges as freely as they would desire by removing such suspicious as have been at the bottom of their being denied admittance. Some specific instances have been given, and we hope and trust that the Secretary of State for India will make prompt inquiries and remove all difficulties in the way. Otherwise the local committees here will find themselves handicapped for lack of support".

Mr. Davidson, I.C.S., on Indian Character.

23. Referring to the remarks of Mr. Davidson which he made as the ~~Chair~~ Chairman of a meeting held recently under the auspices of the Presidency College Union Society the Hindu, of the 14th December, says:--"The Hon'ble Mr. Lionel Davidson appears to have made some observations regarding the Indian's attitude towards truth, which, whatever his convictions may be on the subject, had better have been left unexpressed on the occasion. Mr. Davidson said that he could find no logical ground for the outcry and protest which was the result of Lord Curzon's ill-judged and mischievous utterance on the point. Mr. Davidson also referred to a statement said to have been made by Mr. Hobhouse, President of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation, regarding a trait in the character of the Indian publicist. We hear of this momentous pronouncement ~~fort~~ for the first time now from the lips of Mr. Davidson, and even now it is lacking in essential particulars. To give further point to his remarks, Mr. Davidson said that he could

not help telling the story of an incident 'which happend not very far from Madras, and not many weeks ago, when there was a witness from a rural tract giving evidence before a Commission of enquiry on a matter of public interest and he showed an obvious desire not to tell the whole truth'. ....This incident, we take it, refers to what had happened in the course of the enquiry held by the Forest Committee, when one of the Indian Members thinking that a witness was hesitating to tell the whole truth, admonished him not to speak ordinarily or as usual, but to speak the whole truth. Mr. Davidson's deduction from this incident is extraordinarily ludicruous and far-fetched. It is that the Indian Member himself thought that this countrymen do not ordinarily speak the truth and that it supports his belief that Indians are not prone to speak the truth. If a European Member of the Civil Service is guilty of a gross breach of manners, and we have conspicuous instances of the same among some of those holding very high official positions, would we be justified in saying that all belonging to the Service possess a common characteristic in this respect?".

25. The Desabhimani, of the 30th November writes in English--

Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's visit to South Africa.

"Our readers are aware of how bitter the feelings between the Indians and the natives of South Africa have been for some years past. There was time when the Indians thought that they would get on better by an emigration to South Africa and other Colonies. The people that first took to emigration were naturally of the lowest classes. But as time rolled on the little fortunes which these people brought home after a stay of some years beyond the seas induced the better class people also to emigrate and try their fortunes elsewhere than where they were born and brought up. A number

of people from the southern districts of this Presidency have gone to South Africa, and many of them have settled themselves there permanently. By thrift and proper husbanding of their earnings, these poor emigrants were able to make a small fortune for themselves and take to some independent calling free from the burden of indentured labour. Instead of returning home, therefore, some of them have been living and carrying on business in the colonies side by side with their once masters. This was naturally feared as an invasion on the scope of the natives and a number of laws and regulations were framed creating innumerable disabilities to the Indians there and throwing several obstacles in the way of these people growing there as a distinct and prosperous community. The necessity for the Indians to register their names and to carry a passport with them wherever they go, the disability for travelling in the higher class compartments of the railway trains and other public conveyances, the necessity for paying a certain tax for staying after the period of their indenture is over, these and various similar disabilities not worthy of submission by a free-born subject of the British Indian Empire naturally made the most respectable among the Indians revolt against these restrictions. The most respectable among the Indians revolt against these restrictions. The course adopted by them for securing a remedy was a passive resistance which entailed on them frequent punishments of incarceration. The greatest hero of this passive resistance campaign so vigorously carried on by the South African Indians is Mr. Ghandhi of whom our readers must have heard in connection with this question. The passive resistance and the consequent incarceration of the Indians led eventually to whole deportations of those who refused to conform to these several dishonourable restrictions. It was at this time that the state of things in South Africa drew the sympathetic attention of their fellow Indians in this country. It must be said to the credit of Lord

Ampthill that he threw the weight of his position and influence on the side of these poor Indians in South Africa and advocated their cause in Parliament. In India Mr. Gokhale started a vigorous attack on the short-sighted policy of the South African Government and brought a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council. An Act was also passed giving power to the Government of India to prohibit emigration to South Africa if they chose. This power, however, has not yet been used by the Government, of course, in the hope that the colonies may be otherwise induced to come to their senses. Nothing tangible, however, has as yet been done. But the visit of Mr. Gokhale who has gone there to see things with his own eyes and come to a conclusion as to what can be done in the matter is certain to be an epoch-making event in the history of this question. His tour through South Africa and his conference with several of the leading authorities there show hopeful signs of a compromise. The South African Colonies have trusted Mr. Gokhale with due consideration and respect and must have understood by this time that the poor dirty Indian cooly is not the specimen of a native of India, but taat in it live men of the type of Mr. Gokhale whom any country in the Empire may be proud of possessing as one of its illustrious citizens. We trust that the visit of Mr. Gokhale will bear full fruit and that we shall no more hear of the ghastly and disgraceful reports we often hear from South Africa of the treatment of British Indian citizens by the people of the Colonies".

The same paper publishes a Tamil translation of the above article in its vernacular columns.

Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's visit to South Africa.

Referring to the visit of Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale to South Africa for the purpose of enquiring personally into the grievances of the Indians settled there, a

leader in the Kerala Sanchari, of the 4th December, remarks that the loud cry against the ill-treatment of the Indians in the various parts of the British Empire, especially in South Africa, has been till now a cry in the wilderness. The reason why the Imperial Government was unable to mitigate their grievances may be attributed to the want of earnestness on their part. The indifference of the Union Government of South Africa towards the hardships of the Indians is characterised as culpable and the lack of interest in the question on the part of the Imperial Government regrettable. India is part of the British Empire and Indians are British subjects like the Colonial subjects. Such being the case while in India all British subjects are treated alike, Indians in South Africa should be accorded a different treatment is a stain on the glory of the British Empire. The article, after endorsing the claim made by Mr. Gokhale at Kimberly as to the equality of Indians to any other British subjects, states that impartial administration of justice is the bond that sustains and strengthens the Empire and that selfishness of certain persons might imperil it. The warning given by Mr. Gokhale about the danger of disregarding the strong feeling prevalent in India should be taken to heart by European and South African Governments, and they should endeavour to create better feelings between Indians and Colonists. The educated Indians are beginning to assert their rights in every part of the empire. It is earnestly hoped that both the Imperial and Union Governments will bestow their serious attention on the suggestions made by Mr. Gokhale in his moderate utterances.

28. The Andhraprakasika, of the 7th December, refers to the visit of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale to South Africa, and is sure that he will carefully weigh the South African situation, solve the intricacies of the Indian problem there, make suggestions to the Government of South Africa, and bring about a compromise which will satisfy both the parties.

South Africa.

(k) General.

42. In a leader under this heading, the Lokopakari, of the 9th December, makes the following comments:--From a perusal of the questions proposed to be asked by the Public Service Commission in connection with the Civil Service, we are led to infer that the Civil Service examination will be held simultaneously in England and India and that the Indians will not be admitted for the examination held in England. At the same time, it does not appear distinctly that the object of the Commission is to prevent the admission of the Indians to the Civil Service on a large scale. In case the Civil Service examination is not held simultaneously in England and India, there need be no fear that the Indians will attend that examination held 5,000 miles off. If the Indians are enabled to enter the Civil Service by some other means, then a proportion will have to be fixed with regard to the number of appointments to be set apart for Europeans and Indians, and this will involve the observance of racial distinctions between the two communities. Should the efforts for the removal of the obstacles in the way of the free admission of the Indians to the Civil Service result in setting up distinctions in examination, eligibility and rank, it will not be a sound policy for the Government to adopt, as it is opposed to the spirit of the Queen's Proclamation made in 1858. The western education, which the English people have been imparting to

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the Indians, has raised in their minds high aspirations, but the Government does not afford facilities for their fulfilment. It is not, however, the Government that is to blame for this, as it is a notorious fact that the narrow-mindedness of the officials stands in the way of the work of Government being carried on impartially. It is on account of this that we wish the appointment of a member of the Royal family as Viceroy. When the administration is in the hands of a Royal Viceroy, no racial distinctions will be tolerated. Our King-Emperor showed both by precept and practice, during his visit to India, that he was far above such distinctions. If His Majesty's representatives in India would only follow his example, we and our country will have no grievances to complain of".

Native Chiefs and the Imperial Government.

56. The Mushir-i-Dakhan, of the 10th December, writes that the love and affection of the Native States for the Imperial Government is not merely a matter of words, but is real. All the leading native chiefs and princes of India, in order to give a practical proof of their sincere devotedness to the British Crown, are formulating a scheme to increase and strengthen the British navy. With this in view all of them are considering the question of presenting to the Britannic kingdom, three dreadnoughts and nine-first class cruisers. The Mushir, with reference to the above scheme, observes that it is a clear indication of the good-will and loyalty of the Indian subjects in general, and of the Indian chiefs and princes in particular. It is sincerely hoped that the British Government will sincerely appreciate this movement and will have even better regard than heretofore for the loyalty of the native rulers.

VI. Miscellaneous.

The Indian naval defence and the Indian Princes.

57. In a leading article under this heading, the Swadesamitran, of the 4th December, writes:- An astounding rumour has

recently emanated from Delhi to the effect that the Indian princes have proposed to present Great Britain with three dreadnoughts and nine- first-rate cruisers. It is stated that the Government of India knows nothing of this proposal. If the proposal is true, it will ere long be known. It is on account of the devotion of the Indian princes to the British Throne and their solicitude for the prosperity of the British rule that they have come out to help the Imperial Government at such a great cost. There is no doubt that this proposal will meet with the hearty approval of the Indian people, not only from a feeling of loyalty, but from considerations of national self-interest and prestige. The loyalty of the princes and the people of India to the British rule does not stand in need of fresh illustrations. This devotion has always shone brightly and its effulgence rose to a conspicuous height on the occasion of the King-Emperor's visit to India. It is, therefore, natural to question the necessity or advisability or rendering this help to the British Government at a cost of 21 crores of rupees and we are in entire accord with the view of the London Times, when it says that "unless we have an assurance that the prosperity of welfare of the States concerned will not be prejudically affected by the proposed contribution, we should not accept this proposal without consideration". In the first place, the British Government and the Colonial Administrations being fully interested in the defence of the Eastern seas, it is not necessary for the Indian princes to come out with their contribution. Should a subsequent occasion arise to render similar help, the burden of meeting the expenditure amounting to several crores on both the occasions will be too heavy for the Native States to bear. Further, the responsibility for the protection of the trade on the seas lying between England and Australia does not rest so directly on the Indian princes. If the proposed contribution is undertaken with a view to demonstrate their devotion to His Majesty the King-Emperor, it has been already proved in

numerous ways.

59. In a leader on the subject of a naval force for India, The Andhrakesari, of the 29th November, says that

A naval force for India.

India is now not in a position to supply any such force. The Indians have first of all to make considerable progress in the internal administration of the country. They have to turn their attention to many equally urgent things before undertaking to provide for their naval defence. Besides, India is already contributing a very large sum for it, and Japan is bound, under the terms of a treaty, to defend the Indian shores in times of war. Under such circumstances, says the paper, it is not proper that the Government of India should spend any more money for the defence of the Indian Empire. There can be no objection if the present military expenditure is reduced and the money thus saved is spent for the maintenance of a naval force. Or the Government will do well to raise, if possible subscriptions for the purpose, to which also, says the paper, nobody can object.

61. In an article under this heading the Swadeshabhimani, of the 6th December, observes:

Indians in Australia.

Although the immigration of Asiatics into Australia has been greatly restricted by law since 1905, yet the lot of the Indians who had gone and settled there previously to that year is not so hard as that of their brethren in South Africa. In Australia they enjoy complete religious liberty, can acquire land and property, and, as a rule, are given the same rights and privileges as the whites. There is, however, one disability under which the Indians in Australia are labouring--they are not allowed by the Australian laws to bring over women from India, a regulation which naturally tempts them to take to immoral courses. Yet their position in this respect

too, is far better than that of their countrymen in South Africa; for, whereas in that country the law does not sanction a marriage between an Indian man and a European woman, in Australia every encouragement is shown to such marriages, the object of the Government being that the wealth and property of the Indians should pass to the descendants of European women, and not to those of Hindu women from India. This law against the immigration of Indian women is sure to prove a serious obstacle to the progress of the Indians in Australia.

Indian students in England.

62. In an article under this heading the Sadhivi, of the 10th December, writes as follows:--"There is a growing belief in India that the Bureau of Information, 21, Cromwell Road, London, has failed to justify its existence, and that the belief prevalent in India about its futility is shared by our countrymen in London and other English cities is obvious enough. The meeting that was recently held in the Caxton Hall by the Indians resident in London in order to enter a protest against the present arrangements, is by no means incounclusive. It is believed in India that the arrangements have been the means of providing some comfortable and well_paid jobs. Left to themselves, Indian parents are very few who would care to avail themselves of the Cromwell Road Agency. The regret will be the keener therefore that the Indian tax-payers should be mulcted to the tune of half a lakh in order to keep up arrangements which do not benefit them in the least. The presence of a very large number of Muhammadans at the meeting, notwithstanding the recent appointment of a Muhammadan gentleman to the staff was a striking feature of the whole thing. It is also understood that these arrangements are being forced on the people of this country by securing a ruling from the heads of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge that in future no Indian students

would be admitted to the colleges at those places unless he was under the guardianship of the Cromwell Road Agency. If it is true, we think that a more objectionable practice than this cannot be imagined, We hope that Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, would give his close attention to the question".

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 21ST DECEMBER 1912.

No. 52 of 1912.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES.

II. HOme administration.

(k) General.

13. Referring to the press communique containing the list of associations and gentlemen of this Presidency to whom the questions drawn up by this Commission have been sent for written answers, the Hindu, of the 16th December, says "It is clear that there are several omissions of notable names among both official and non-official persons. It is pointed out also that, defective as the lists are, only a small proportion of those to whom questions have been sent for written answers will be orally examined, for the alleged reason that owing to the short time at their disposal the Commission do not expect to be able to hear the evidence of more than a limited number of witnesses. It is difficult to understand this position. The shortness of time available is due to the act of the Commission itself, and it is no valid ground to say that the number of witnesses must be limited in consequence. We are sure that the decision to thus limit the number of witnesses to be examined will cause deep and widespread disappointment. In the list of official witnesses we do not find the names of Sir Arnold White, the Chief Justice, the Hon'ble Mr. P.S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, the Indian Member of the Executive Council, and Sir C. Sankaran Nair, the

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the senior Puisne Indian Judge of the High Court. It was to be naturally expected that these gentlemen occupying very high official positions, all but the highest, would be able to give valuable evidence on the subjects that ~~they~~ would come up for consideration before the Commission. We presume that they must have been asked by the Government to give evidence and have excused themselves from doing so for reasons which it is difficult to divine. In the absence of special reasons their abstention from giving the Commission the benefit of their knowledge and experience savours of an abdication of responsibility".

In the fourth of a series of articles on this Commission under the heading "The irreducible minimum and its absurdity", the Madras Standard, of the 19th December, observes:--"Questions 18 and 19 show that the framers of these are alive to the artificial agitation raised by some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries for the fixing of the minimum number of European officials in this country..... If pledges are to be kept up it would be better to retain the statute of 1861 and even to enlarge its scope. We now are forced to make room in this country for persons from England whose only qualification is that on account of their meritorious karma they receive their birth in that favoured country. Those who are afraid of trying their chances at the competitive examination, that is to say, those who are only ordinary men and often even worse, get into India through the back door of patronage and get sometimes fatter pay than even their abler brethren in the covenanted service. Thus India has been forced to afford a larger scope nor for 'our lads' from England than was the case in 1861. In suggesting that all these appointments may be brought under that statute, we argue on the

basis that simultaneous examinations are allowed in India. In that case only, will these appointments, that are now securely reserved for Europeans, be occupied at least by a better sort of people and some of them at least will fall to the lot of Indians. But if simultaneous examinations are to be still denied, then we should like to see the list as it is and we must agitate for the obeying of the rule with regard to the unconvenanted service.......In our opinion, we shall get on as well, if not much better with a much smaller number of Europeans to rule us, and it is our ardent hope that the day is not far off when all responsible places under the Government will have to be surrendered one by one to the children of the soil. It is absured to say that British rule in India depends upon the English Civil Servants. We rather think that the stability of British rule must be and cannot but be dependent on the faith of the people that the English connection with this country is for India's good. To say that party factions will arise if a third party does not administer justice is the work of some interested people and cannot be believed without good evidence; and to give credence to such a statement is to abandon all hopes of getting colonial self-government in this country".

In the seventh of a series of articles on this Commission dealing with the "Provincial Civil Service", the Hindu, of the 21st December, writes:--"It is now 20 years since the Provincial Civil Service has been established in India. Whatever else it did, it certainly failed to solve the question of the claims of Indians to higher appointments by 'scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of natives of India to higher and more

extensive employment in the public service'. The protests which have been made in this country against the reactionary recommendations of that Commission and the final scheme adopted by the Government of India will be found recorded in the proceedings of every public Conference held annually in every province, in the National Congress and elsewhere. ....A system by which Indians are to rise to higher ranks in the public service--may be, as Sir Murray Hammick put it in the local Council last year, to a Membership of the Executive Council--from clerkships on Rs.15, stands self-condemned. Yet it has been one of the surest ways of blocking the claims of Indians to higher appointments which they could never reach for all practical purposes. The Decentralisation Commission considered it a vicious system even for the purpose of recruiting the ranks of Tahsildars and Magistrates in the subordinate services, and it was in response to this criticism, it will be recollected, that the Madras Government last year introduced the scheme of so-called revenue probationers, starting on a salary of Rs.25 as Revenue Inspectors, or ~~revenue probationers, star~~ clerks of similar status, based on a system of nominations. It is needless to say more on the state of things in this respect, which has been brought about by an unjust distrust of the intellectual classes in the country. They have been discussed in these columns often enough and every Conference and Congress has continued the demand for placing the recruitment of the Provincial Service on the only sound basis of a competitive system, the only known safe method for avoiding the abuses of patronage, and for securing the necessary level of efficiency. It would be remarkable indeed, if a Commission containing such good educationists and cultured Englishmen should countenance systems of recruitment for the public service based on nomination and promotion by seniority and not ~~not~~ on efficiency and education".

15. The West Coast Spectator, of the 18th December, writes as follows:-"Lord Crewe's announcement in the House of Lords that it has been decided to raise the gold standard reserve to twenty-five millions sterling will be received in this country with dissatisfaction. The public are dissatisfied not because the reserve has been carried to such a high figure, but there is no sign of the Government transferring a portion of it to India in spite of the emphatic protests of Indians and Anglo-Indians of all shades of opinion supported by such papers as the Times and the Daily News. It is to be regretted that this combined onslaught on the Secretary of State and his policy has not succeeded in making Lord Crewe budge an inch from the strange position he has taken up. The papers report that he is still advancing money at ridiculously low rates of interest to London bankers; and this at a time when the Indian money market is very tight, the bank rate has gone high, and there is severe strain everywhere. The excuses behind which the Government take shelter we noticed the other day and ventured to show how weak these excuses are. We need not, therefore, traverse the same ground again. It is extremely unjust that the Indian Peter, who is feeling the financial strain very much, should be robbed, not to pay, but to oblige the English Paul. The time has come, we think, for the people to combine and make very strong representations to the Government to transfer a part of the reserve to this country at a time when she wants money the most. It is said that the Finance Minister had interviews with the leading bankers of Calcutta the other day. We do not know if this has anything to do with the reserve controversy. At any rate the agitation now inaugurated must be strengthened and carried to its legitimate termination".

The Gold standard reserve.

VI. Miscellaneous

The Indian naval contribution.

21. The People's Weekly, for the week ending 14th December, writes:--"We do not know who is responsible for the canard that the rulers of the Native States in India have hit upon a new way of testifying to their loyalty to the British Power, viz., the presentation to the Imperial navy of dreadnoughts and super dreadnoughts. We are glad that the Indian section of the press lost no time in pointing out the extravagant idiocy of such a proposal. Fw sane Indians will be disposed to question that the peace, progress and happiness of India's millions depend in the most vital manner on the strength and stability of the Britih Raj here. But this admission does not involved that one should try to play the jingo imperialist to perfection. Peaceful Indian need not be unnecessarily dragged into the made race of military and naval equipment in which the European Powers are now seen enaged. It is a maelstrom that should be avoided..........In economic conditions there can hardly be any similarity between the European countries and the Indian States. Whie the former are overswollen with wealth and may conveniently discharge their superfluous riches in luxurious pursuits, the latter shoudl take account of their limited resources and refrain from attempting any ambitious flight calculated more to tickle national vanity than to be really useful.........Juding thins by ordinary standards, India, which already pays heavily for her standing army, should not be addled with a naval expenditure even in this indirect ma nner".

The Indian National Congress.

22. In a leading article on this subject, the West Coast Spectator, of the 14th December, observes:--"Since writing our last article on the Indian National Congress we understand that there is no likelihood of the several

Congress Committees sending delegates to Bankipore in any appreciable number. The Reception Committee, in the meanwhile, are making frantic appeals to the country to put on extra steam and to co-operate with them in making the session an unqualified success. We are afraid these appeals are likely to fall flat on that section of the public which is expected to support the Congress and its propaganda. Several reasons have, in our opinion, contributed to this deplorable state of affairs. First of all, the attention of the public is diverted to the Council elections. ....It may also be that a reaction is working to enervate the people. It has been said in several quarters that the Congress has played its part, it is no longer necessary to reckon it as a factor in our political development, the expanded Council's affording ample scope for the ventilation of political grievances. We, for our part, are not certainly prepared to accept this theory as correct- No doubt the Councils now afford better scope, and a part of the work hitherto done by the Congress could be delegated to the non-official elected members of the Imperial and Provincial Councils. But there is political work of a nature that does not fall within the scope of the councils and it is to tackle this work the Congress really exists. We must, however, state that this work can only be tackled and brought to its legitimate conclusion if the Congress is reconstructed in the light of the needs brought about by the changed situation..........The time has surely come for the Congress to emerge out of the region of talk. We want action, and work that endures. A real, living public life, a class of professional politicians and leaders, not of the amateur variety, but trained in public life and public problems, and a sound public opinion need be created in this country if we are to reap any benefits from the new era of political reform and progress inaugurated by the expanded Councils. To us it seems that the Congress exists

to create these desiderata, the absence of which threatens to extinguish the already intermittent public life of the country..........We have to state that if no work of a constructive nature is to be taken up by the Congress it will exercise no influence whatever on our political life and it is better the show is wound up".

Writing on this subject the West Coast Reformer, of the 15th December, says:--"It is to be hoped that a large number of public spirited Madrasees will attend the Congress. If the Congress achieves nothing else than the bringing together of public men from all parts of India, it does a great deal for the creation and sustenance of the invaluable sentiment of our national solidarity. It affords scope for the exercise of the various virtues and faculties of a public man, and as such is a great institution of educative value..........There is still a party of Indian politicians who demand a complete reorganisation of the Congress, placing its constitution on the same basis as before the Surat affair. But even now the constitution of this venerable institution is not so narrow as to disallow the full play of patriotism and public spirit. It is a pity that there is no organisation in Malabar working in unison with the Congress. If the District Committee is dissolved and dead, a new committee may be formed. A strong district association is urgently wanted in Malabar".

25. Indians in South Africa. Referring to the Hon'ble Mr. G;K. Gokhale's speech at Bombay on the 14th instant, in which he narrated his experiences in South Africa, the Indian Patriot, of the 16th December, under the heading "Mr. Gokhale on Indian Slavery", says:--"Indians had long found a hero in Mr. Gandhi, and Mr. Gokhale's annointing him will raise him considerably in South Africa whose Government, we are

told, are considerate to him. After that, all that Mr. Gokhale could say was that although his visit did not do any good, it did not, do any harm. That is a great deal, and it is no compliment to the ruling race in South Africa. that Mr. Gokhale should have been afraid of any harm, on account of his visit, and that the lower classes among the white race should have been angry that the higher classes should have been considerate to Mr. Gokhale who, to them, was after all only a coolie. Mr. Gokhale found this lower class--and they are the most numerous--deliberately against the Indians; he found the higher class considerate, but conscious of the economic difficulty and of the prospect of their country being swamped by Indians. Told plainly, it means that a majority of the ruling race in South Africa will keep Indians as slaves, and the minority will not have the courage to say they shall not be kept as slaves........ The question is whether the Government of India will be a party to bind hand and foot their subjects and send them as slaves to another country. Upon the answer to that question depends the solution of the vexed problem. There are enthusiasts who would be carried away by just indignation at the indignities piled upon their countrymen; and the callous indifference of the authorities who are never tired of thinking and speaking in an 'Imperial frame' of mind, touch a vein of hopelessness in the human machinery and stir passions of colour prejudice. To some of them our Bombay correspondent referred last Saturday when he intimated that some people would not join the meeting which, Mr. Gokhale addressed as he had not been, in their opinion, sufficiently stiff. Mr. Gokhale went with the olive branch; he went to find a cure, if he could.........The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale must strike at the doors of Lord Hardinge's Government until they are opened, and ask until the word is given that the Government that collects tax from the Indian will not knowingly send him away to be a slave in another

land. He has the prestige, the influence, the diplomacy to do it".

Writing on this subject the West Coast Spectator, of the 18th December, observes:--"We are coloured out-castes of the Empire, worse than the worst specimen of scums and dregs of European society! The Transvaal Ministers and the Imperial Government, Mr. Gokhale says, are powerless. They depend upon the votes of the multitude, and the multitude are against the Indians. What are we then to do? We are told by Mr. Gokhale that we in India must try that our brethren in Africa could live in peace. Mr. Gokhale, however, fails to explain in what manner we are to give our help. Our Government do not depend on our vote. We have no voice in the solution of Imperial problems. Mr. Gokhale thinks that the only possible settlement of the question is to stop any more Indians going to South Africa. Can we do that? Of course, the Government can, but we are afraid whether they will adopt that course. It must be remembered that we have to deal with an alien race born and brought up in an atmosphere surcharged with colour prejudice. We must secure more powers at home first and then try to become citizens of the empire in theory as well as practice. If there were an Indian Parliament, that body would be in a position to adopt retaliatory measures against the colonies. In the absence of such a Parliament we cannot but regard Mr. Gokhale's counsel as a counsel of perfection. To our mind, the crux of the proposition does not lie in the formulation of axiomatic propositions, but in their faithful execution in practice, which will certainly be not possible unless and until we get self-government, which we will not let for a long time to come".

The Wednesday Review, of the 18th December, remarks:- "The representative character of the meeting would show that the few gentlemen who did not wish to join in honouring Mr. Gokhale on the ground that he, as reported by Reuter, accepted the principle of prohibiting free public entry of British Indians in South Africa, represented nobody but themselves.........These arm-chair politicians would not raise their little finger to save one Indian from maltreatment in the colonies. But when one of their countrymen returns after his self-sacrificing labours they have the unblushing effrontery to criticise his great work.......... Having studied the question on the spot, Mr. Gokhale ought to have gauged the situation more accurately than we can do from this distance. All that we can say is that if the problem rests with the colonists the solution must be long in coming, indeed, if at all".

Mr. Davidson, I.C.S., on Indian character.

26. In commenting on the address of the Hon'ble Mr. L. Davidson as Chairman of a meeting held recently under the auspices of the Presidency College Union Society, Madras the Indian Patriot, of the 16th December, remarks:--"An unhappy speech was made by the Hon'ble Mr. Lionel Davidson, which, as he will have seen, was liable to be construed as an accusation of a whole people. Mr. Davidson may not have meant it; even if he did mean, his object might have been not to abuse, but to expose with a view to improvement in a direction which he thinks necessary. We cannot believe that so clever and capable an officer could have brought forth such a serious charge, merely for the mischief of it, forgetting all his responsibility. He might have honestly been humorous, and not heavy. But he has been misunderstood, and such a misunderstanding of one of the forceful officers of Government might have been avoided by more guarded expression or less enthusiasm in a direction likely to be misunderstood.

We are sorry that such an incident should have happened, and that an officer, who has so largely to do with the people, should not have known that there are people who are eager to trade on racial prejudice...........If Mr. Davidson had remembered other striking sentences that occurred in the course of the enquiry, that described the demoralisation of the Government agency known as the Forest Service, he would have been, we know, the first to hide his head in shame, for he would have been assured that ~~that~~ the agency compelled the ignorant, illiterate villager to be currupt, untruthful, cunning. Instead of being a disgrace to the people, that one of them should have been exposed to such mockery, it is a discredit to the Government that it is responsible for agencies that force the people to remain in the malnad tract of lies and corruption".

Writing on this subject the West Coast Reformer, of the 19th December, says:--"We pity Mr. Davidson's ignorance of Indian character in spite of his pretty long career in India. His observation has been resented and repudiated in Madras and we trust he will, like a true Englishman, regret for the calumny he has thrown on Indians now that he knows his ugly compliments have been rejected. This incident illustrates the truth of our statement made in a recent issue that responsible Indians hesitate to point out the defects of their countrymen because some Englishmen would make much of those defects forgetting for the nonce that they are themselves liable to human failings. Some self-complacent westerners consider themselves superior and infallible in every respect and are prone to attribute some special evil qualities to the Indian character, always emphasising the fictitious theory that east is east and west is west. Such persons seriously suffer from an obliquity of mental vision and will do well to study human nature in relation to its environments, before criticising Indian nature".

27. Referring to a petition presented by the father of Ullasker Dutt, one of the convicted accused in the Alipore bomb case and now confined in the Andamans, praying for his release as he has become ~~insanee~~ insane, the Muhammadan, of the 16th December says:-"It is with heavy feelings we read the soul-moving appeal of his old father--a highly-educated gentleman and a trusted servant of the Government--to His Excellency Lord Hardinge for the exercise of mercy in the sad case and for the committal of his son to his charge. The arguments adduced for extending a kind consideration towards a youthful political convict, stricken down with insanity, are irresistible. The father of the insane Ullasker Dutt is prepared to submit to any condition that the Government may impose on him. Clemency is a right royal attribute, we need hardly say. There is nothing stronger, we know, than the exercise of clemency to put down discontent and anarchy. The reading of Ullasker Dutt's case is a pitiable tale--calling loudly for sympathy. With every hope and wish we appeal to His Excellency Lord Hardinge to exercise mercy and commit the insane youth into the hands of the sorrowing parent--under stringent conditions, if necessary".

The fate of Ullasker Dutt.

28. Referring to the entertainment given by the Bombay Presidency Association to Mr. C.J.O'Donnell, late M.P., and to Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's eulogy of his services in Parliament to the Indian cause, the Madras Standard, of the 17th December, says:- "Hitherto we have been accustomed to call Indian Members of the British Parliament as 'Members for India', while in reality India has no representation whatever in Parliament.

Indian representation in Parliament.

Our revered countryman, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Sir M. Bhownagri have been regarded as Members for India, as they happen to be Indians. In this popular sense, even British Members who are friends of India have been so designated without any statutory significance. For the matter of that Sir J.D. Rees too may in this sense claim to be a member for India, as he often obtrusively poses himself an authority on Indian questions. In the light of the rapid change of events not only in India but in the orient, it may be reasonably hoped that the day is not far distant when the expression 'Member for India' will have its real significance and meaninig. When India is patted on the pack as an important and integral part of the Imperial organism by reason of the royal visit and Coronation Darbar at Delhi and by the grant of an extended franchise in the enlarged Councils of the Indian Empire and when she is called upon to co-operate with the self-governing colonies in building dreadnoughts for the defence of the Empire, is it unreasonable for India to press her legitimate claims for real living representation in the House of Commons. Instead of a magnificant Council of India in London, maintained at the expense of the Indian tax-payer with its mysterious ways of doing business and still more mysterious management of Indian finance, a few seats may be thrown open to competent Indians--we have some eminently fit representatives who will adorn the House--and thus India may be allowed representation in Parliament. Men like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale would do honour to any legislative assembly in the world. Indians are found fit for our Executive Councils, the India Council and the Privy Council. The next desirable step in advance must needs be an entrance into the British Parliament, so that Indian Members will effectively and conscientiously represent Indian interests".

31. In commenting on the news published in the nespapers recently that Raja Norendra Lal Khan, of Narajole, had submitted an apology to the Government of Bengal, for his participation in the disloyal movement at Midnapore, and has unreservedly withdrawn all charges he made against certain Government officials in that connection, the Indian Patriot of the 20th December, in an article under the heading "The Vengeance of the Executive", writes:--"The Government officers that have wrung this apology from the Raja have raised themselves in the estimation of their brethren. They have the satisfaction of having traced mischief to the scion of a very noble and loyal family in Midnapore, and although the halls of justice and the threatres of the Indian mind rang a different tale the Raja has accepted that the movement was 'disloyal' and has tendered an apology for having 'participated' in it, and has 'withdrawn unreservedly' all charges he made against Government officers. Important is such an acknowledgment from a citizen of position and wealth--a large, very large slice of wealth has vanished in his warfare against Government officers for the maintenance of his honour and hereditary loyalty. The apology from such a man and in such terms is valuable enough and even Lord Carmichael's Government could not resist the temptation to publish it, so as to completely exonerate the officers, and raise them in public estimation-... ....We could, under other circumstances, have admired the moral courage of the Raja to express apology and regret for unfortunate actions. But the Baghalpore sensation case gave us an insight into the oppressive nature of the dealings which the Collector of the district may open with a zamindar. With the Baghalpore sensation case before us, and with the memories of executive oppression

The apology of Raja Norendra Lal Khan.

of Bengal zamindars which that case revived, the press communique about the apology of the Raja of Narajole, instead of allaying public anxiety, will awaken public suspicions. After the splendid struggle he made to withstand the black mark that the Midnapore drama sought to stick upon him, his open assertion now that it was all disloyal and that the charges he made were unfounded is exceedingly suspicious.

"We fear very much that the public tendering of apology by the Raja of Narajole will awaken memories that will not go towards strengthening popular confidence in the executive memories, once revived, will spread consternation. No man can be so dull as not to know the probable evolution of this apology. But if the apology has really made up differences between the Raja of Narajole and the executive, we congratulate the Raja on the peace he has obtained, and are prepared to pass over the price which he paid for it".

The Public Service Commission.

49. Referring to the Public Service Commission, the Desabhimani, of the 10th December, says that when the Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council, he was told that a Commission would be appointed to enquire into and report on the question of public services. He has been evincing much interest in the matter, and it is very much to be regretted that when the Commission has been formed such a gentleman has not been included in it. The paper prays that the Commission will in their report recommend to Government, among other things, the holding of the Civil Service Examinations simultaneously both in England and India.

The Sanitary and Malarial Conferences.

50. The Bharatamata, of the 11th December, regrets that the All-India Sanitary Conference and the Malaria conference

have been arranged for for the benefit of the townspeople and not for that of the villagers. It asks, "If the impartial rulers neglect the poor villagers, who is there to look after their welfare?".

VI. Miscellaneous.

The ambition of the Calcutta Anglo-Indian Association.

58. Referring to the deputation from the Calcutta Anglo-Indian Association headed by the Hon'ble Mr. Madge, which recently waited on Lord Carmichael, the Swadesamitran of the 6th December, writes:--In introducing the deputation Mr. Madge said that while other communities in India depended upon heredity and environment to develop character and inspire ambition, the Anglo-Indians had to enlist all their heredity against their environment in order to acquire the European type of character and a Christian type of conduct, and that though the efforts of the Anglo-Indian community in that direction had not been crowned with complete success, nobody could say that they had resulted in entire or even general failure. It is not understood who are meant by the term Anglo-Indians or whether Eurasians and East Indians, living in the nooks and corners of towns, are also included in that word. If it includes East Indians, it is news to us that they are striving to acquire the European type of character. We are not opposed to the Anglo-Indians making efforts to approach the European ideal, but strongly protest against their attempts to obtain from Government concessions which are not enjoyed by the Indians. Mr. Madge pleads for an Anglo-Indian regiment and a navy under Anglo-Indian command. To influence the Government to spend public money in this way for enabling the Anglo-Indians to develop their character, when the Government itself does not see the necessity for it, is entirely prejudicial to the interests of the Indian people. How are

the Anglo-Indians justified in thinking of benefiting themselves by the revenue of the Indians, when they are not willing to make common cause with the Indians?

India and the Tariff Reform.

59. In a leading article summarising the speeches of Mr. Bonar Law and Lord Crewe on this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 9th December, remarks as follows:--If great Britain adopts one kind of fiscal policy towards her colonies and a different one with regard to India, India will never consent to such treatment. The Indians do not like the present policy of free trade. If they have a free hand in the government of their country, they will vote for imposing such duties as would protect their industries and revenue. They do not agree with Lord Crewe in thinking that free trade has been a blessing to India. India is prepared to accept free trade if the colonies too would do so. But to invest the colonies with the power to impose taxes and deny it to India is gross injustice, and yet it is this unjust policy that is mow pursued.

In a further article on this subject, the same paper, of the 13th December, writes:--Lord Crewe advocates the adoption of free trade in all the dominions of the British Empire. But he fears that, if England should impose import duties on foreign goods, India too would claim a similar right and levy duties on the goods exported from England, and this would reduce the export trade of the latter country and result in serious loss to English merchants and workmen. Mr. Bonar Law realises this and proposes that import duties should be abolished in India. Therefore, so far as India is concerned, Mr. Bonar Law and Lord Crewe hold the same opinion, as they are anxious to protect the interests of British trade and labour. But there is none to feel for the Indian merchants and workmen. As the

Secretary of State for India, Lord Crewe is bound to promote the prosperity of India by developing her trade and industry both of which are now in a deplorable dondition. The introduction of a protective tariff will undoubtedly strengthen the Indian industries and import duties should accordingly be levied on the goods exported from England. Lord Crewe said in his speech that he wanted to follow the policies of the old Viceroys, Lord Landsdowne, Lord Curzon and Lord Minto. Whatever might have been the opinions of Lord Landsdowne and Lord Curzon, Lord Minto has clearly said on several occasions that, without protective duties, Indian industries would not thrive. This is the opinion of the Indian leaders as well. The introduction of an export duty of the indigenous products of rice, oil-seeds and jute will add considerably to the revenues of India, as they are produced in no other country and the European countries which import them now will continue to do so in the future. But India is prevented by England from being benefited thus.

60. The Swadesamitran, of the 12th December, says:-This league will hold a meeting on the 31st instant to consider such questions as the Public Service Commission, the Hindu-Muhammadan problem, the Mussalmans' political ideal, etc., As it is likely thatin passing the resolution on the Public Service Commission, the Muhammadans may take a view opposed to that of the Hindus, we wish to sound a note of warning to our Muslim brethren in this matter. They should support the Hindus in demanding that the Civil Service Examination should be held in England and India simultaneously. This opinion is held by a large number of Muhammadans, though the Right Hon'ble Amir Ali is opposed to it. If all the Muhammadan witnesses should oppose this demand in their evidence before the Public Service Commission, they will only be jeopardising their position instead of strengthening it in the least. The resolution on the Hindu-Muhammadan problem

The All-India Muslim League of Lucknow.

will, we trust, recommend co-operation with the Hindus as being conducive to the best interests of the Muhammadans. As for "the Mussalmans' political ideal", we do not clearly see whether the word "Mussalmans" stands for the Indian Mussalmans alone or for the followers of the Prophet throughout the world. If it means the former, we can define their ideal. The Mussalmans' ideal in that case should be nothing more or less than their combining with the Hindus and acquiring swaraj within the British Empire by the two communities forming into a united nation. If, on the other hand, all the Mussalmans in the world are included, it is not possible for the Mussalmans living in different countries, possessing several distinct civilizations and owing allegiance to different Governments to adopt one and the same common political ideal.

65. In a leading article referring to the approaching session of the Indian National Congress at Bankipur, the

The Indian National Congress.

Swadesamitran, of the 17th December, observes:--We are glad to learn that the Muhammadans will attend the ensuing session of the Congress in large numbers. How long can the Hindus and the Muhammadans stand apart? The Muhammadans have so long held themselves aloof in the hope that the time for their joining the Congress would arrive when their community makes sufficient progress in education and is in a position to exercise its political rights like the Hindus. The Muhammadans who had thus cut themselves off from their Hindu brethren were under the influence of Anglo-Indians who were opposed to the advancement of India. Such Muhammdans being found prominently in the United Provinces, the Punjab and Bengal, the Imperial and Local Governments have been encouraging them. Even in the time of Lord Minto, a distinction was made in the privileges and treatment given to the Hindus and the Muhammadans. Owing to these circumstances, no friendly relations existed between

these two communities. Later on in 1910, Sir Wedderburn, who came out to India as President of the 27th Congress, tried to promote friendly feelings between the two communities and a committee was formed for this purpose. Though nothing is known as to what has been achieved by this committee, the leaders of the two communities strongly felt that their separation was harmful and not beneficial, and such prominent men as His Highness the Aga Khan worked for union. Even the new Viceroy Lord Hardinge did not encourage the claims of the Muhammadans for special privileges, but laid stress on union as being beneficial for the two communities and the country at large. The Governors of the several Provinces are also following the example of the Viceroy and exhorting the two communities to co-operate with each other. Apart from these, the reverses in the fortunes of the Muhammadans in other parts of the world are against their isolation in India. As it is the Indian Muhammadans, who, of all their co-religionists in the world, stand in the forefront of learning, civilization and wealth, it is necessary that they should acquire more political rights and form a strong nation in order to inspire the Muhammadans of other countries with enthusiasm, and for this purpose they should co-operate with the Hindus and work in a friendly spirit. The time has therefore, come for the Muhammadans to abandon the policy which they have been pursuing for the last twenty years and more. As the Government has also ceased to entertain any feelings of suspicion and hatred against the Congress, the Muhammadans will only be giving satisfaction both to the Hindus and the Government by their resolution to join that body.

A naval force for India.

68. Referring to the question of naval defence, the Bharatamata, of the 11th December, echoes the very same

ideas that are contained in the Desamata of the 27th November 1912, which is reported on in page 1806 of the weekly report, No. 50, article No. 42.

Indian financial management.

60. Referring to the questions asked by certain members in the British Parliament on this subject and to the answers given by the Government thereto, the Mysore Star, of the 16th December, observes that an examination of these questions and answers will show what an injustice the Government of India are committing by borrowing the money needed for their own use at high rates of interest and suffering Indian merchants, too, to pay exrorbitant rates of interest, while, at the same time, they allow their cash balances to be lent at very favourable rates to British bankers and merchants in London.

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